THE

HISTORICAL WORKS

Of the Reverend

Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,

D. S. P. D.

IN THREE VOLUMES

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CONTAINING

The History of England, from the Death of William the Conqueror, to the Acceſſion of Henry the Second.

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TO THE

COUNT DE GYLLENBORG.

SIR,

IT is now about ſixteen years ſince I firſt entertained the deſign of writing a hiſtory of England, from the beginning of William Rufus to the end of queen Elizabeth *; ſuch a hi-

* It will be evident to any one who has the leaſt acquaintance with Britiſh literature, that SWIFT's plan, in this work, was a Continuation of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's Hiſtory, as he begins his ſtory, juſt where Sir William left off, with the death of William the Conqueror. Whether or not he was deſired by Sir William to do ſo, we cannot ſay, though it is very probable he was. Whatever be in this, it is certain that SWIFT has continued the hiſtory with the ſame ſpirit, energy, elegance, and conciſeneſs with that of his celebrated predeceſſor; and every lover of our conſtitution

ſtory, I mean, as appears to be moſt wanted by foreigners, and gentlemen of our own country; not a voluminous work, nor properly an abrigement, but an exact relation of the moſt important affairs and events, without any regard to the reſt. My intention was to aſcribe it to the king †, your late maſter, for whoſe great virtues I had ever the higheſt veneration, as I ſhall continue to bear to his memory. I confeſs it is with

muſt lament that he did not finiſh his plan; which, had it been executed, would, undoubtedly, have been one of the fineſt of that kind that our country, or any other, had ever produced.

† Charles XII. king of Sweden, who was unfortunately killed by a cannon-ball at the ſiege of Fredericſhall, in the year 1718.

ſome diſdain that I obſerve great authors deſcending to write any dedications at all: and for my part, when I looked round on all the princes of Europe, I could think of none who might deſerve that diſtinction from me, beſides the king your maſter; (for I ſay nothing of his preſent Britannic majeſty, to whoſe perſon and character I am an utter ſtranger, and like to continue ſo); neither can I be ſuſpected of flattery on this point, ſince it was ſome years after that I had the honour of an invitation to his court, before you were employed as his miniſter in England,

which I heartily repent that I did not accept; whereby, as you can be my witneſs, I might have avoided ſome years uneaſineſs and vexation, during the laſt four years of our late excellent queen, as well as a long melancholy proſpect ſince, in a moſt obſcure diſagreeable country, and among a moſt profligate and abandoned people.

I was diverted from purſuing this hiſtory, partly by the extreme difficulty, but chiefly by the indignation I conceived at the proceedings of a faction, which then prevailed; and the papers lay neglected in my cabinet until you ſaw me in En-

gland; when you know how far I was engaged in thoughts and buſineſs of another kind. Upon her majeſty's lamented death, I returned to my ſtation in this kingdom; ſince which time there is not a northern curate among you who hath lived more obſcure than myſelf, or a greater ſtranger to the commoneſt tranſactions of the world. It is but very lately that I found the following papers which I had almoſt forgotten. I publiſh them now, for two reaſons; firſt, for an encouragement to thoſe who have more youth *,

* The author was then in his fifty-ſecond year.

and leiſure, and good temper than I, towards purſuing the work, as far as it was intended by me, or as much further as they pleaſe; the ſecond reaſon is, to have an opportunity of declaring the profound reſpect I have for the memory of your royal maſter, and the ſincere regard and friendſhip I bear to yourſelf; for I muſt bring to your mind how proud I was to diſtinguiſh you among all the foreign miniſters, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted. I am a witneſs of the zeal you ſhewed not only for the honour and intereſt of your maſter, but for the advantage of

the Proteſtant religion in Germany, and how knowingly and feelingly you often ſpoke to me upon that ſubject. We all loved you, as poſſeſſed of every quality that could adorn an Engliſh gentleman, and eſteemed you a faithful ſubject to your prince, and an able negociator; neither ſhall any reverſe of fortune have power to leſſen you either in my friendſhip or eſteem: and I muſt take leave to aſſure you further, that my affection towards perſons hath not been at all diminiſhed by the frown of Power upon them. Thoſe whom you and I once thought great

and good men, continue ſtill ſo in my eyes and my heart; only with a * * * * * * *

Cætera deſiderantur.

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BRITISH MUSEUM
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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

AT the time of the Conqueror's death, his eldeſt ſon Robert, upon ſome diſcontent with his father, being abſent in France *, William, the ſecond ſon, made uſe of this juncture, and without attending his fa-

* He was then at Abbeville in Picardy.

ther's funeral, haſtened to England, where, purſuant to the will of the deceaſed prince †, the nobility, although more inclined to favour Robert, were prevailed with to admit him king, partly by his promiſes to abate the rigor of the late reign, and reſtore the laws and liberties which had been then aboliſhed,

† William the conqueror on his death-bed left Normandy and Le Maine to his ſon Robert, as being his right of inheritance; not without adding, as ſome hiſtorians relate, that any people, whom Robert was to govern, would be miſerable. England, he ſaid, was not his porperty by inheritance; he would not preſume to bequeath to any one that kingdom, but left it to the diſpoſal of heaven: however, ſo it pleaſed God, he ſhould be glad that William, *his obedient and beſt beloved ſon*, ſhould enjoy it after his death; and accordingly ordered letters to be expedited to archbiſhop Lanfranc, for facilitating William's acceſſion and eſtabliſhment there.

but chiefly by the credit and ſolicitations of Ianfranc; for that prelate had formerly a ſhare in his education, and always a great affection for his perſon. At Wincester he took poſſeſſion of his father's treaſure *, in obedience to whoſe command, as well as to ingratiate himſelf with the people, he diſtributed it among churches and religious houſes, and applied it to the redeeming of priſoners, and other acts of popularity.

In the mean time Robert returned to Normandy, took poſ-

* Which was ſixty thouſand pounds in ſilver, beſides gold, jewels, and plate. Brumpton.

ſeſſion of that duchy, with great applauſe and content of his people; and, ſpighted at the indignity done him by his father, and the uſurpation of his brother in conſequence thereof, prepared a great fleet and army to invade England; nor did there want an occaſion to promote his intereſt, if the flowneſs, the ſoftneſs, and credulity of his nature, could have ſuffered him to make a right improvement of it.

Odo biſhop of Baieux *, of whom frequent mention is

* Odo was half brother to William the conquror, and the firſt earl of Kent of Norman blood. He was releaſed from his confinement by order of the late king, at the ſolicitation of Robert earl of Mortain, Odo's brother.

made in the preceding reign *, a prelate of incurable ambition, either on account of his age or character being reſtored to his liberty and poſſeſſions in England, grew into envy and diſcontent, upon ſeeing Lanfranc preferred before him by the new king in his favour and miniſtry. He therefore formed a conſpiracy with ſeveral nobles of Norman birth to depoſe the king, and ſent an invitation to Robert to haſten over. Mean time the conſpirators, in order to diſtract the king's forces, ſeized on

* One would imagine from theſe words, that Dr. Swift had written an account of the reign of William the conqueror, if it had not been for what he ſays in his letter to count Gyllenborg.

ſeveral parts of England at once; Briſtol, Norwich, Leiceſter, Worceſter *, Shrewſbury, Bath, and Durham, were ſecured by ſeveral noblemen: Odo himſelf ſeized Rocheſter, reduced the coaſts of Kent, and ſent meſſages to Robert to make all poſſible ſpeed.

The king, alarmed at theſe many and ſudden defections, thought it his beſt courſe to begin his defence by ſecuring the good will of the people. He redreſſed many grievances, eaſed them of certain oppreſſive

* Worceſter however at this time ſuffered only a blockade. See the account of the operations there in Green's late ſurvey of the city of Worceſter, p. 195.

taxes and tributes, gave liberty to hunt in his foreſt, with other marks of indulgence, which, however forced from him by the neceſſity of the time, he had the ſkill or fortune ſo to order as they neither loſt their good grace nor effect; for immediately after he raiſed great forces both by land and ſea, marched into Kent, where the chief body of his enemies was in arms, recovered Tunbridge and Pevenſey, in the latter of which Odo himſelf was taken priſoner, and forced to accompany the king to Rocheſter. This city refuſing to ſurrender at the king's ſummons, Odo undertook to prevail with the

obſtinacy of the inhabitants; but being admitted into the town, was there detained, either by a real or ſeeming force; however, the king, provoked at their ſtubbornneſs and fraud, ſoon compelled them to yield, retook his priſoner, and forcing him for ever to abjure England, ſent him into Normandy.

By theſe actions, performed with ſuch great celerity and ſucceſs, the preparations of duke Robert were wholly diſappointed, himſelf, by the neceſſity of his affairs, compelled * to a treaty with his brother,

* Samuel Daniel, a very judicious epitomizer of our antient hiſtory, places the concluſion of this treaty in 1087, ſoon after the eſtabliſhment

upon the terms of a ſmall penſion, and a mutual promiſe of ſucceeding to each other's dominions on failure of iſſue, forced to reſign his pretenſions,

of Rufus on the Engliſh throne, who might well think ſuch an expedient neceſſary at that time, for the reconciling an elder brother to the moſt mortifying of diſappointments. If the treaty was then made, Robert's infraction of it by an embrakation of the troops in the very next year to ſuccour the Engliſh rebels, was a plauſible call for revenge, and accounts for the king's invaſion of Normandy in 1090. Speed, whom Dr. Swift follows here, has been ſo far miſled by Knighton, as to repreſent Robert making an actual deſcent on the Engliſh coaſt, landing at Southampton, amuſed there by humble meſſages from Rufus, cajoled into a reſignation of his claim, and induced to go back a penſioner inſtead of a king. But there is no trace of ſuch tranſactions in the purer narratives of more ancient hiſtorians. And if we follow thoſe of Normandy, who ought to have the beſt information of Robert's motions, the duke neither embarked with nor after his troops: he promiſed indeed to follow them with a greater force; but indolence got the better of his ambition.

and return with a ſhattered fleet to Normandy.

About this time died archbiſhop Lanfranc; by whoſe death the king, looſed from that awe and conſtraint he was under, ſoon began to diſcover thoſe irregularities of his nature, which till then he had ſuppreſſed and diſguiſed, falling into thoſe acts of oppreſſion and extortion that have made his name and memory infamous. He kept the ſee of Canterbury four years vacant, and converted the revenues to his own uſe, together with thoſe of ſeveral other biſhoprics and abbies *, and diſpoſed all church prefer-

* As for Rufus's appropriating to himſelf

ments to the higeſt bidder. Nor were his exactions leſs upon the laity, from whom he continually extorted exorbitant fines for pretended tranſgreſſion of certain penal laws, and entertained informers to obſerve mens actions, and bring him intelligence.

It is here worth obſervation, that theſe corrupt proceedings of the prince have, in the opini-

the revennes of vacant ſees, this was the reſult and expected conſequence of the feudal eſtabliſhment made by his father. For when the conqueror had reduced epiſcopal and abbatial manours to military and baronial tenure, the care and profits of them, between the demiſe of each tenant and the entry or inſtallation of his ſucceſſor, by neceſſity of that tenure, devolved on the crown. But Rufus is deſervedly cenſured for keeping the prelacies vacant longer than was neceſſary, merely with an avaricious view

on of ſeveral learned men, given riſe to two cuſtoms, which are a long time grown to have the force of laws. For, firſt, the ſucceſſors of this king, continuing the cuſtom of ſeizing on the accruing rents in the vacancy of ſees and abbies, it grew in proceſs of time to be exacted as a right, or acknowlegement to the king as founder; whence the revenues of vacant biſhoprics belong at this day to the crown. The ſecond cuſtom had an original not unlike. Several perſons, to avoid the perſecutions of the king's informers, and other inſtruments of oppreſſion, withdrew themſelves and their effects to foreign countries; upon

which the king iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all men to leave the kingdom without his licence; from whence, in the judgment of the ſame authors, the writ *ne exeas regno* had its beginning.

By theſe and the like arbitrary methods, having amaſſed great treaſures, and finding all things quiet at home, he raiſed a powerful army to invade his brother in Nomandy; but upon what ground or pretext, the writers of that age are not very exact; whether it were from a principle frequent among unjuſt princes, that old oppreſſions are beſt juſtified by new; or, whether having a talent for

ſudden enterpriſes, and juſtly apprehending the reſentments of duke Robert, he thought it the wiſer courſe to prevent injuries than to revenge them. In this expedition he took ſeveral cities and caſtles from his brother, and would have proceeded farther, if Robert had not deſired and obtained the aſſiſtance of Philip king of France, who came with an army to his relief. King William not thinking it ſafe or prudent to proceed further againſt his army ſupported by ſo great an ally, yet loth to loſe the fruits of his time and valour, fell upon a known and old expedient, which no prince ever practiſed oftener, or with greater ſucceſs, and that was, to

buy off the French king with a ſum of money. This had its effect; for that prince, not able to oppoſe ſuch powerful arms, immediately withdrew himſelf and his forces, leaving the two brothers to concert the meaſures of a peace.

This was treated and agreed with great advantages on the ſide of king William; for he kept all the towns that he had taken, obliged his brother to baniſh Edgar Atheling out of Normandy, and, for a further ſecurity, brought over with him to England the duke himſelf to attend him in his expedition againſt Malcolm king of

Scotland, who during his abſence had invaded the borders. The king, having raiſed great forces both by ſea and land, went in perſon to repel the inroads of the Scots: but the enterpriſe was without ſucceſs; for the greateſt part of his fleet was deſtroyed by a tempeſt, and his army very much diminiſhed by ſickneſs and famine, which forced him to a peace of little honour; by which, upon the condition of homage from that prince, the king of England agreed to deliver him up thoſe twelve towns (or manours) in England which Malcolm had held under William the conqueror; together with

a penſion of twelve thouſand marks *.

At this time were ſown the ſeeds of another quarrel between him and duke Robert,

* So Brompton writes. But it is doubtful whether the Normanic or Saxonic mark of ſilver be underſtood. The former was a weight of eight ounces, the latter but an ounce and a half. If we compute by the mark of the Normans, the annuity ſtipulated for Malcolm was equivalent to about *l.* 186,000 of modern currency; a penſion ſcarce reconcilable with the ſtate of our exchequer in thoſe days. If the ſmaller or Saxonic mark be meant here (which had not yet fallen into diſuſe, as appears by the calculations by it in the laws of king Henry I.) the penſion is more reaſonable, being equivalent to about 35,000 *l.* of our preſent money. This at leaſt is rather to be admitted than the account of the greater part of our hiſtorians, who ſet down the proviſion made for the Scottiſh king at *twelve marks of gold per annum*, which amounts but to 72 *lb.* Norman, or 1700 *l.* in modern money; a penſion unworthy the magnificence of Rufus, and too mean for any reigning prince to accept.

who ſoliciting the king to perform ſome covenants of the laſt peace, and meeting with a repulſe withdrew in great diſcontent to Normandy.

King William, in his return from Scotland, fell dangerouſly ſick at Gloceſter, where, moved by the ſeaſonable exhortations of his clergy, or rather by the fears of dying, he began to diſcover great marks of repentance, with many promiſes of amendment and retribution, particularly for his injuries to the church. To give credit to which good reſolutions, he immediately filled ſeveral vacant ſees, giving that of Canterbury to Anſelm, a foreigner of great fame

for piety and learning. But as it is the diſpoſition of men who derive their vices from their complexions, that their paſſions uſually beat ſtrong and weak with their pulſes, ſo it fared with this prince, who upon recovery of his health ſoon forgot the vows he had made in his ſickneſs, relapſing with greater violence into the ſame irregularities of unjuſtice and oppreſſion, whereof Anſelm, the new archbiſhop, felt the firſt effects. This prelate, ſoon after his promotion, offered the king a ſum of money by way of preſent *; but took

* This whole account of the difference between the king and the archbiſhop is taken from Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, and a creature of Anſelm's. A benevolence had been demanded from all the nobility and the prelates towards

care it ſhould be ſo ſmall, that

the expence of the king's expedition to Normandy in 1094. If Anſelm, as it is ſaid, offered 11, 500 *l.* towards it, as the ſhare or quota of his own ſee, that ſum (equivalent to at leaſt 500 *l.* of our currency) was far greater than a poor Italian monk, not yet poſſeſſed of the temporalities of Canterbury, could be expected to raiſe, and what, if his friends could advance it for him, the neceſſities of the king would not ſuffer him to reject: ſo that this part of Eadmer's apology for his patron confutes itſelf. But in fact, the true ſource of the conteſt between this prelate and the king was, the former's violent attachment to one of the contenders for the papacy, Otho of Oſtia, ſtyled Urban II. whom, when Italy had ſcarce acknowleged him, (for in 1091 the antipope Clement III. took Rome, and the caſtle of St. Angelo, and drove Urban from St. Peter's chair) Anſelm would imperiouſly impoſe on the king, prelates, and whole realm of England, as their apoſtolic father and pontiff. The king replied, that his predeceſſors in Canterbury had never taken ſo much upon them; and that when two popes had been choſen, his declaring for either without approbation of the king, was an endeavour *to pluck from his ſovereign's head the crown of* England. A great council was ſummoned on this occaſion at Rockingham, Mar. 11, 1095.

none might interpret it to be a

when the nobility and biſhops inſiſted on Anſelm's ſubmiſſion to the king: he pleaded his privilege as a primate, and would be judged by none but the pope, and by no pope but Urban II. It was however there determined, that Anſelm ſhould not demand his archiepiſcopal pall of Urban II. unleſs the king ſhould conſent. All the prelates, except the biſhop of Rocheſter, ſays Du Pin, reſolved not to own Anſelm as primate, ſo long as he ſhould take part with the biſhop of Oſtia (Urban II.) But a rebellion which broke out in the empire, wherein Conrad the emperor's ſon roſe in arms againſt his father, proved extremely fortunate both for Urban, and for his factious inſtrument Anſelm. Wicked Urban was the ſeducer of this unnatural ſon; and the price of his benediction ſoon appeared. So far as Conrad's ſword could influence, Clement III. was ejected: ſo that in 1095 Urban was acknowleged through Lombardy, but as yet was not maſter of Rome. Fortune now befriended, and even William of England was ready to acknowlege him. Accordingly this pope ſent an archiepiſcopal pall, for the ceremony of the king's inveſting Anſelm with the primacy: but the haughty monk refuſed the inveſtiture from the king's hand, and obſtinately preſiſted, until the pope's meſſengers were allowed to lay the pall on the altar of Canterbury

conſideration of his late preferment. The king rejected it with ſcorn; and as he uſed but little ceremony in ſuch matters, inſiſted in plain terms for more. Anſelm would not comply: and the king enraged, ſought all occaſions to make him uneaſy; until at length the poor archbiſhop, tired out with perpetual uſurpations (or at leaſt what was then underſtood to be ſuch) upon his juriſdiction, privileges, and poſſeſſions, deſired the king

cathedral; whence he vouchſafed to take it (as the canting phraſe was) from St. Peter's hand, although the king had acknowleged and obliged his kingdom to acknowlege Urban on this expreſs condition, that he ſhould be gratified with delivering Urban's pall to the archbiſhop elect. Thus Rufus, who would not be bullied, was at laſt bubbled by a prieſt.

licence for a journey to Rome; and upon a refuſal, went without it. As ſoon as he was withdrawn, the king ſeized on all his revenues, converting them to his own uſe, and the archbiſhop continued an exile until the ſucceeding reign.

The particulars of this quarrel between the king and archbiſhop are not, in my opinion, conſiderable enough to deſerve a place in this brief collection, being of little uſe to poſterity, and of leſs entertainment; neither ſhould I have mentioned it at all, but for the occaſion it gives me of making a general obſervation, which may afford ſome light into the nature and diſpoſition of thoſe ages. Not on-

ly this king's father and himſelf, but the princes for ſeveral ſucceſſions, of the faireſt character, have been ſeverally taxed for violating the rights of the clergy, and perhaps not altogether without reaſon. It is true, this character hath made the lighter impreſſion, as proceeding altogether from the party injured, the cotemporary writers being generally churchmen: and it muſt be confeſſed, that the uſurpations of the church and court of Rome were in thoſe ages riſen to ſuch heights, as to be altogether inconſiſtent either with the legiſlature or adminiſtration of any independant ſtate; the inferior clergy, both ſecular and regular, inſiſting upon ſuch

immunities as wholly exempted them from the civil power; and the biſhops removing all controverſies with the crown by appeal to Rome; for they reduced the matter to this ſhort iſſue, that God was to be obeyed rather than men; and conſequently the biſhop of Rome, who is Chriſt's repreſentative, rather than an earthly prince. Neither doth it ſeem improbable that all Chriſtendom would have been in utter vaſſalage, both temporal and ſpiritual, to the Roman ſee, if the reformation had not put a ſtop to thoſe exorbitancies, and in a good meaſure opened the eyes even of thoſe princes and ſtates who

ſtill adhere to the doctrines and diſcipline of that church.

While the king continued at Gloceſter, Malcolm king of Scotland came to his court with intentions toſettle and confirm the late peace between them. It happened that a controverſy aroſe about ſome circumſtances relating to the homage which Malcolm was to pay; in the managing whereof king William diſcovered ſo much haughtineſs and diſdain, both in words and geſtures, that the Scottiſh prince, provoked by ſuch unworthy treatment, returned home with indignation; but ſoon came back at the head of a powerful army, and, entering Nor-

thumberland with fire and ſword, laid all waſte before him. But as all enterprizes have in the progreſs of them a tincture of thoſe paſſions by which they were ſpirited at firſt, ſo this invaſion, begun upon private revenge, which is a blind ungovernable paſſion, was carried on with equal precipitation, and proved to be ruinous in the event; for Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, to prevent the deſtruction of his own country, where he had great poſſeſſions, gathering what forces he could ſuddenly raiſe, and without waiting any directions from the king, marched againſt the Scots, who were then ſet

down before Alnwick caſtle: there, by an ambuſh, Malcolm and his eldeſt ſon Edward were ſlain, and the army, diſcouraged by the loſs of their princes, entirely defeated. This diſaſter was followed in a few days by the death of queen Margaret, who, not able to ſurvive her misfortunes, died for grief. Neither did the miſeries of that kingdom end, till, after two uſurpations, the ſurviving ſon of Malcolm, who had fled to England for refuge, was reſtored to his crown by the aſſiſtance of king William.

About this time the hidden ſparks of animoſity between the two brothers, buried but not

extinguiſhed in the laſt peace, began to flame out into new diſſenſions: duke Robert had often ſent his complaints to the king for breach of articles, but without redreſs, which provoked him to expoſtulate in a rougher manner, till at length he charged the king in plain terms with injuſtice and perjury: but no men are found to endure reproaches with leſs temper than thoſe who moſt deſerve them: the king, at the ſame time filled with indignation, and ſtung with guilt, invaded Normandy a ſecond time, reſolving to reduce his brother to ſuch terms as might ſtop all further complaints. He had al-

ready taken ſeveral ſtrong holds, by force either of arms or of money, and intending intirely to ſubdue the duchy, gave orders to have twenty thouſand men immediately raiſed in England, and ſent over to him. The duke, to defend himſelf againſt theſe formidable preparations, had recourſe again to his old ally the king of France, who very readily advanced with an army to his aſſiſtance, as an action wherein he could every way find his own accounts; for, beſide the appearance of glory and juſtice by protecting the injured, he fought indeed his own battle, by preſerving his neighbouring ſtate in the hands of

a peaceful prince, from ſo powerful and reſtleſs an enemy as the king of England; and was largely paid for his trouble into the bargain: for king William, either loth to engage in a long and dangerous war, or haſtened back by intelligence of ſome troubles from Wales, ſent offers to his army juſt ready to embark for Normandy, that upon payment of ten ſhillings a man they might have leave to return to their own homes. This bargain was generally accepted; and the money was paid to the king of France, who immediately withdrew his troops; and king William, now maſter of the conditions, for-

ced his brother to a peace upon much harder terms than before.

In this paſſage, there are ſome circumſtances which may appear odd and unaccountable to thoſe who will not give due allowance for the difference of times and manners: that an abſent prince, engaged in an unjuſt war with his own brother, and ill beloved at home, ſhould have ſo much power and credit, as by his commiſſion to raiſe twenty thouſand men on a ſudden, only as a recruit to the army he had already with him; that he ſhould have a fleet prepared ready, and large enough to tranſport ſo great a number; that upon the very point of em-

barking he ſhould ſend them ſo diſgraceful an offer; and that ſo great a number of common ſoldiers ſhould be able and willing to pay ſuch a ſum of money *, equal to at leaſt twelve times as much in our times †;

* The Saxon Chronicle, Simeon Dunelmenſis, and Matthew Paris, ſay, that Ralf the treaſurer took from the men the money which had been paid them for their maintenance. Yes, ſays Sir Henry Spelman, the money which the country had allowed them for their ſubſiſtence; ſo that if each man paid ten ſhillings, it might not be from his own purſe.

† It might more juſtly be ſaid, equal to four and twenty times as much in our times: for the genuine ſilver in the ſum of ten ſhillings of Norman tale, was of equal weight with the ſilver that is found in twenty-nine ſhillings of our preſent ſtandard coin; *i. e.* weighed 5 oz, and about 13 pwt. and each ounce of ſilver was at that time worth at leaſt eight times more than at preſent. Whence we may collect, that ten ſhillings of Rufus's money was equivalent to at leaſt twelve pounds ſterl. of our preſent currency. The curious reader may conſult bi-

and that, after being thus deluded and ſpoiled at once, they ſhould peaceably diſband and retire to their ſeveral homes. But all this will be leſs difficult to comprehend, when we reflect on the method of raiſing and ſupporting armies, very different from ours, which was then in uſe, and ſo continued for many ages after. All men who had lands *in capite* were bound to attend the king in his wars with a proportioned number of ſoldiers, who were their tenants on eaſy rents in

ſhop Fleetwood's *Chronicon precioſum*, and a ſynoptical table of the variations in the ſtandard of Engliſh coin, by Martin Folkes, Eſq; publiſhed in an anonymous Eſſay upon money and coins.

conſideration of military ſervice. This was but the work of a few days, and the troops conſiſted of ſuch men as were able to maintain their own charges either at home or abroad: neither was there any reaſon to apprehend that ſoldiers would ever become inſtruments for introducing ſlavery, who held ſo great a ſhare in the property.

The king, upon his return from Normandy, made an unſucceſsful expedition againſt the Welſh, who upon the advantages of his abſence had, according to their uſual cuſtom, made cruel inroads upon the adjoining counties of Cheſter, Shrewſbury, and Hereford. Up-

on the king's approach they fled into their faſtneſſes among the mountains, where he purſued them for ſome time with great rage and vexation, as well as the loſs of great numbers of his men, to no purpoſe. From hence he was recalled by a more formidable enemy nearer home: for Robert earl of Northumberland, over-rating his late ſervices againſt the Scots, as much perhaps and as unjuſtly as they were undervalued by the king, refuſed to come to his court, which, in thoſe days, was looked as the firſt uſual mark of diſcontent in a nobleman; and was often charged by princes as a formal accuſati-

on. The earl having diſobeyed the king's ſummons, and concerted matters with other acomplices, broke out into open rebellion, with intentions to depoſe king William, and ſet up Stephen earl of Albemarle, ſon of a ſiſter to William the Conqueror: but all was prevented by the celerity of this active prince; who, knowing that inſurrections are beſt quelled in their beginnings, marched with incredible ſpeed, and ſuprized the rebels at Newcaſtle, took the caſtles of Tinmouth and Bamburg *; where the obſtinacy of the defendants provoked him, contrary to his nature, to commit cruel-

* Now called Bamborough.

ties upon their perſons, by cutting off their hands and ears, and other the like inhumanities. The earl himſelf was taken priſoner as he endeavoured to make his eſcape; but ſuffered no other puniſhment than to be confined for the reſt of his life *.

About this time began the Holy War for recovering of Paleſtine; which having not been the enterprize of any one prince or ſtate, but that wherein moſt in Chriſtendom had a ſhare, it cannot with juſtice be ſilently paſſed over in the hiſtory of any nation.

Pope Urban the ſecond, in a

* Which was thirty years.

council at Clermont, made a pathetic exhortation, ſhewing with what danger and indignity to Chriſtendom the Turks and Saracens had for ſome ages, not only overrun all Aſia and Africa, where Chriſtianity had long flouriſhed; but had alſo made encroachments into Europe, where they had entirely ſubdued Spain, and ſome other parts; that Jeruſalem, the holy city, where our Saviour did ſo many miracles, and where his ſepulchre ſtill remained, to the ſcandal of the Chriſtian name, lay groaning under the tyranny of Infidels; that the ſwords, which Chriſtian princes had

drawn againſt each other, ought to be turned againſt the common enemy of their name and religion; that this ſhould be reckoned an ample ſatisfaction for all their paſt ſins; that thoſe who died in this expedition ſhould immediately go to heaven, and the ſurvivors would be bleſſed with the ſight of our Lord's ſepulchre.

Moved by theſe arguments, and the influence of the perſon who delivered them, ſeveral nobles and prelates immediately took upon them the Croſs; and the council diſſolving in this high fit of zeal, the clergy, upon their return home, prevailed ſo far in their ſeveral countries,

that in moſt parts of Europe ſome great prince or lord became a votary for *The Holy Land*; as Hugh the Great, brother to the king of France; Godfrey duke of Lorrain; Reimond count of Toulouſe; Robert duke of Normandy, and many others. Neither ought it to be forgotten, that moſt of theſe noble and generous princes, wanting money to maintain the forces they had raiſed, pawned their dominions to thoſe very prelates who had firſt engaged them in this enterprize: doubtleſs a notable mark of the force of oratory in the churchmen of thoſe ages, who were able to inſpire that devotion into others, whereof

they ſeemed ſo little ſenſible themſelves.

But a great ſhare in the honour of promoting this religious war, is attributed to the zeal and induſtry of a certain French prieſt, commonly called Peter the Hermit; who being at Jeruſalem upon pilgrimage ſome time before, and entering often into private treaty with the patriarch of that city, came back fully inſtructed in all the meaſures neceſſary for ſuch a war: to theſe was joined the artifice of certain dreams and viſions that might paſs for divine admonition: all which, added to the piety of his exhortations, gave him ſuch credit with the pope, and ſeveral prin-

ces of Chriſtendom, that he became in his own perſon the leader of a great army againſt the Infidels, and was very inſtrumental for engaging many others in the ſame deſign.

What a ſpirit was thus raiſed in Chriſtendom among all ſorts of men, cannot better be conceived than from the vaſt numbers of theſe warlike pilgrims; who, at the ſiege of Nice, are ſaid to have conſiſted of 600,000 foot, and 100,000 horſe: and the ſucceſs at firſt was anſwerable to the greatneſs of their numbers, the valour of their leaders, and the univerſal opinion of ſuch a cauſe; for, beſides ſeveral famous victories in the field, not to

mention the towns of leſs importance, they took Nice, Antioch, and at laſt Jeruſalem, where duke Godfrey was choſen king without competition. But zeal, with a mixture of enthuſiaſm, as I take this to have been, is a compoſition only fit for ſudden enterprizes, like a great ferment in the blood, giving double courage and ſtrength for the time, until it ſink and ſettle by nature into its old channel: for, in a few years, the piety of theſe adventurers began to ſlacken, and give way to faction and envy, the natural corruptions of all confederacies: however, to this ſpirit of devotion there ſucceeded a ſpi-

rit of honour, which long continued the vein and humour of the times; and the *Holy Land* became either a ſchool, wherein young princes went to learn the art of war, or a ſcene wherein they affected to ſhew their valour, and gain reputation, when they were weary of peace at home.

The Chriſtians held poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem above eighty years *, and continued their expeditions to the *Holy Land* almoſt as many more, with various events; and after they were entirely driven out of Aſia, the

* They held it eighty-eight years; from July 1099, to October 1187.

popes have almoſt in every age endeavoured in vain to promote new cruſadoes; neither does this ſpirit ſeem quite extinct among us even to this day; the uſual projects of ſanguine men for uniting Chriſtendom againſt the Turk, being without doubt a traditional way of talk derived to us from the ſame fountain.

Robert, in order to furniſh himſelf out for this war, pawned his duchy to the king for 10,000 marks of gold *; which ſum was levied with ſo many circumſtances of rigor and exaction, towards the church and

* Equal to 1, 400,000 *l.* as money paſſes now.

laity, as very much encreaſed the diſcontents of both againſt the prince.

1099. I ſhall record one act of this king's, which, being chiefly perſonal, may paſs rather for a part of his character, than a point of hiſtory.

As he was hunting in the New Foreſt, a meſſenger expreſs from Normandy, brought him intelligence, that Helie, count de la Fleche, had laid cloſe ſiege to Mans, and expected to carry the town in a few days: the king, leaving his chace, commanded ſome about him to point whereabout Mans lay; and ſo rode ſtraight on without reflection, until he came to the

coaſt. His attendants adviſed him to wait until he had made preparations of men and money; to which he only returned; "They that love me, will fol-"low me." He entered the ſhip in a violent ſtorm; which the mariners beholding with aſtoniſhment, at length in great humility gave him warning of the danger; but the king commanded them inſtantly to put off to ſea, and not be afraid; for he had never in his life heard of any king that was drowned. In a few days he drove the enemy from before the city, and took the count himſelf priſoner, who, raging at his defeat

and captivity, exclaimed *, " That this blow was from for- " tune; but valour could make " repriſals, as he ſhould ſhew, " if ever he regained his liber- " ty." This being told the king,

* There is ſo much pleaſantry and humour, as well as ſpirit and heroiſm, in this ſtory, as we have it recorded by William de Malmeſbury, who repreſents the menace as thrown out in the king's preſence, that I ſhall make no apology for ſetting down his words at length. " Author turbarum Helias capitur; cui ad ſe " adducto rex ludibundus, 'Habeo te, magi- " ſter, inquit.' At Ille, cujus alta nobilitas " neſciret etiam in tanto periculo ſapere; " Fortuito, inquit, me cepiſti: ſi poſſum eva- " dere, novi quid facerem.' Tunc Willielmus, " præ furore fere extra ſe profitus, & obtuens " Heliam, 'Tu, inquit, nebulo, tu quid face- " res! Diſcede; abi; fuge. Concedo tibi ut " facias quicquid poteris: et per vultum de " Luca, nihil ſi me viceris, nihil pro hâc venia " tecum paciſcar." *i. e.* By the face of St. Luke, if thou ſhouldeſt have the fortune to conquer me, I ſcorn to compound with thee for my releaſe.

he ſent for the count, let him underſtand that he had heard of his menaces, then gave him a fine horſe, bid him begone immediately, and defyed him to do his worſt.

It would have been an injury to this prince's memory, to let paſs an action, by which he acquired more honor than from any other in his life, and by which it appeared that he was not without ſome ſeeds of magnanimity, had they been better cultivated, or not overrun by the number or prevalency of his vices.

I have met with nothing elſe in this king's reign that deſerved to be remembered; for, as

to an unſucceſsful expedition or two againſt Wales, either by himſelf or his generals; they were very inconſiderable both in action and event, nor attended with any circumſtances that might render a relation of them of any uſe to poſterity, either for inſtruction or example.

His death was violent and unexpected, the effect of caſualty; although this perhaps is the only misfortune of life to which the perſon of a prince is generally leſs ſubject than that of other men. Being at his beloved exerciſe of hunting in the New Foreſt in Hampſhire, a large ſtag croſſed the way before him, the king, hot on his

game, cried out in haſte to Walter Tyrrel, a knight of his attendants, to ſhoot; Tyrrel immediately let fly his arrow, which, glancing againſt a tree, ſtruck the king through the heart, who fell dead to the ground without ſpeaking a word. Upon the ſurpriſe of this accident, all his attendants, and Tyrrel, * among the reſt, fled different ways; until the fright being a little over, ſome of them returned, and cauſing the body to be laid in a collier's cart, for want of other conveniency, conveyed it in a very unbecoming contemptuous man-

* Yet Eadmer ſaith, that Tyrrel told him, he had not been in the Foreſt that day.

ner to Wincheſter, where it was buried the next day without ſolemnity, and, which is worſe, without grief.

I ſhall conclude the hiſtory of this prince's reign, with a deſcription and character of his body and mind, impartially from the collections I have made; which method I ſhall obſerve likewiſe in all the ſucceeding reigns.

He was in ſtature ſomewhat below the uſual ſize, and big-bellyed, but he was well and ſtrongly knit. His hair was yellow or ſandy; his face red, which got him the name of Rufus; his forehead flat; his eyes were ſpotted, and appeared of dif-

ferent colours; he was apt to ſtutter in ſpeaking, eſpecially when he was angry; he was vigorous and active, and very hardy to endure fatigues, which he owed to a good conſtitution of health, and frequent exerciſe of hunting; in his dreſs he affected gayety and expence, which having been firſt introduced by this prince into his court and kingdom, grew, in ſucceeding reigns, an intolerable grievance. He alſo firſt brought in among us the luxury and profuſion of great tables. There was in him, as in all other men, a mixture of virtues and vices, and that in a pretty equal degree,

only the misfortune was, that the latter, although not more numerous, were yet much more prevalent than the former. For being entirely a man of pleaſure, this made him ſacrifice all his good qualities, and gave him too many occaſions of producing his ill ones. He had one very ſingular virtue for a prince, which was that of being true to his word and promiſe *: he was of undoubted perſonal valour, whereof the writers in thoſe ages produce ſeveral inſtances; nor did he want ſkill

* Yet he was ſometimes guilty of breach of his faith in treaties. But, he is not the only prince who in different characters had different meaſures of right and wrong; a public and a private conſcience.

and conduct in the proceſs of war. But, his peculiar excellency, was that of great diſpatch, which, however uſually decried, and allowed to be only a happy temerity, does often anſwer all the ends of ſecrecy and counſel in a great commander, by ſurpriſing and daunting an enemy when he leaſt expects it; as may appear by the greateſt actions and events upon the records of every nation.

He was a man of ſound natural ſenſe, as well as of wit and humour, upon occaſion. There were ſeveral tenets in the Romiſh church he could not digeſt; particularly that of the ſaint's interceſſion; and living

in an age over-run with ſuperſtition, he went ſo far into the other extreme, as to be cenſured for an Atheiſt. The day before his death, a monk relating a terrible dream, which ſeemed to forbode him ſome misfortune, the king being told the matter, turned it into a jeſt; ſaid, the man was a monk, and dreamt like a monk, for lucre ſake; and therefore commanded Fitzhamon to give him an hundred ſhillings, that he might not complain he had dreamt to no purpoſe.

His vices appear to have been rather derived from the temper of his body, than any original depravity of his mind; for being of a ſanguine

complexion, wholly bent upon his pleaſures, and prodigal in his nature, he became engaged in great expences *. To ſupply theſe, the people were perpetually oppreſſed with illegal taxes and exactions; but that ſort of avarice which ariſes from prodigality and vice, as it is always

* Not from his attachment to groſſer pleaſures; but from his vanity, ſtudy of magnificence, buildings, affectation of generoſity, and profuſeneſs in rewarding the bravery of his ſoldiers. The monks bring againſt him a general charge of incontinency; but mention no particulars: no ſpurious iſſue is heard of; no miſtreſs raiſed to rank and ſplendour; not the name of any of his private favourites has reached us. Had he been as tractable to Anſelm, as Edgar was to Dunſtan; had he laid his ſceptre under the feet of that inſolent bigot; the ſame monks would have celebrated his piety, and palliated his failings; as the popes were equally grateful to Dunſtan, Anſelm, and Becket, by exalting thoſe incendiaries into ſaints.

needy, ſo it is much more ravenous and violent than the other, which put the king and his evil inſtruments (among whom Ralph, biſhop of Durham, is of ſpecial infamy) upon thoſe pernicious methods of gratifying his extravagances by all manner of oppreſſion; whereof ſome are already mentioned, and others are too foul to relate.

He is generally taxed by writers for diſcovering a contempt of religion in his common diſcourſe and behaviour; which I take to have riſen from the ſame fountain, being a point of art, and a known expedient, for men who cannot quit their

immoralities, at leaſt to baniſh all reflections that may diſturb them in the enjoyment, which muſt be done either by not thinking of religion at all; or, if it will obtrude, by putting it out of countenance.

Yet there is one inſtance that might ſhew him to have ſome ſenſe of religion as well as juſtice. When two monks were outvying each other in canting the price of an abbey, he obſerved a third at ſome diſtance, who ſaid never a word; the king demanded why he would not offer; the monk ſaid, he was poor, and beſides, would give nothing if he were ever ſo rich; the king replied, then you are

the fitteſt perſon to have it, and immediately gave it him. But this is, perhaps, with reaſon enough, aſſigned more to caprice than conſcience; for he was under the power of every humour and paſſion that poſſeſſed him for the preſent; which made him obſtinate in his reſolves, and unſteady in the proſecution.

He had one vice or folly that ſeemed rooted in his mind, and of all others, moſt unbefitting a prince: this was, a proud diſdainful manner, both in his words and geſture; and having already loſt the love of his ſubjects by his avarice and oppreſſion, this finiſhed the work, by bringing him into con-

tempt and hatred among his ſervants; ſo that few among the worſt of princes have had the luck to be ſo ill-beloved, or ſo little lamented.

He never married, having an invincible abhorrence for the ſtate, although not for the ſex.

He died in the thirteenth year of his reign, the forty-third of his age, and of Chriſt 1100, Auguſt 2d.

His works of piety were few, but in buildings he was very expenſive, exceeding any king of England before or ſince, among which Weſtminſter-Hall, Windſor Caſtle, the Tower of London, and the whole city of Carliſle, remain laſting monuments of his magnificence.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HENRY the FIRST.

THIS prince was the youngeſt ſon of William the Conqueror, and bred to more learning than was uſual in that age, or to his rank, which got him the ſurname of Beauclerc; the reputation whereof, together with his being born in England, and born ſon of a king, altho' of little weight in themſelves, did very much ſtrengthen his pretenſions with the people. Beſides, he had the ſame advantage of his brother Robert's abſence, which

had proved before ſo ſucceſsful to Rufus, whoſe treaſures he likewiſe ſeized on immediately at his death, after the ſame manner, and for the ſame end, as Rufus did thoſe of his father the Conqueror. Robert had been now five years abſent in the *Holy War*, where he acquitted himſelf with great glory; and although he was now in Apulia, upon his return home-ward, yet the nobles pretending not to know what was become of him, and others giving out that he had been elected king of Jeruſalem, Henry laid hold of the occaſion, and calling together an aſſembly of the clergy, nobles, and people of the realm at London, upon his promiſes to re-

ſtore king Edward's laws, and redreſs the grievances which had been introduced by his father and brother, they conſented to elect him king *. Immediately after his coronation, he proceeded upon reforming the abuſes of the late reign: he baniſhed diſſolute perſons from

* Notwithſtanding the phraſe *electus eſt* be uſed on this very occaſion by Henry of Huntingdon, and William of Malmeſbury, there ſeems to be a manifeſt impropriety in it. The barons, convened at London, upon news of William's death, pretended to no power of electing a monarch, but of declaring to whom the crown had devolved. A falſe charge of illegitimacy was made uſe of to deſtroy the title of Robert. "Impoſuerunt ei illegitimatem, quod "non fuerat procreatus de legitimo thoro "Willielmi Conqueſtoris; unde unanimi aſſen-"ſu ſuo ipſum refutaverunt, et pro Rege omni-"no recuſaverunt, et Henricum fratrem in "Regem creaverunt." Knyghton. The body of barons, or great council of the land, were in all ſuch emergencies deemed the interpreters or judges of the law of ſucceſſion.

the court, who had long infeſted it under the protection and example of Rufus: he reſtored the people to the uſe of lights in the night, which the Conqueror had forbidden, after a certain hour, by the ringing of a bell. Then he publiſhed his charter, and ordered a copy thereof to be taken for every county in England. This charter was in ſubſtance; " the freedom of Mother Church from former oppreſſions; leave to the heirs of nobles to ſucceed in the poſſeſſion of their lands, without being obliged to redeem them, only paying to the king a moderate relief *; abolition of

* This was in appearance a very important conceſſion, and yet proved of little uſe; for ſo

fines for licence of marriage to their heireſſes; a promiſe of not refuſing ſuch licence, unleſs the match propoſed be with the

long as the meaſure and proportion of ſuch relief (or fine upon admittance) was left undetermined, a door was ſtill open for grievous exactions. Whence the barons, in their famous convention with king John, obliged him to ſettle the relief of their heirs, at 100 pounds for an earl's barony, 100 marks for a common barony, and 100 ſhillings for a knight's fief; which was the ancient fine upon ſucceſſion, and was ſuppoſed to be a fourth part of the yearly income of the reſpective inheritances. See Magna Charta, art. 3. "Hæres ſuus plenæ ætatis------ "habeat hæreditatem ſuam per antiquum re- "levium; ſcil. hæres comitis, &c." That there were very great abuſes in this branch of the royal revenue in the preceeding reign, may appear from the relief exacted of Robert de Beleſme earl of Shrewſbury, upon his ſucceeding in 1098 to the baronies of his elder brother: this, we are told by Ordericus Vitalis, was 3000 *l.*; an enormous ſum in thoſe times, and equivalent to about 69,700 *l.* in the preſent. A nobleman, reduced to compound in this manner with the crown, before he could have legal poſſeſſion of his paternal eſtate, might well be ſaid to redeem it.

king's enemy *, *&c.*; the next of kin to be guardians of the lands of orphans; puniſhments for coiners of falſe money; a confirmation of St. Edward's laws; and a general amneſty."

About the ſame time he performed two acts of juſtice, which, by gratifying the revenge and the love of the people, gained very much upon their affections to his perſon: the firſt was, to impriſon Ralph biſhop of Durham, who, having been raiſed by the late king from a mean and ſordid birth to be his prime confident and miniſter, became the chief inſtrument, as well as contriver,

* *i. e.* with a traitor or malecontent.

of all his oppreſſions: the ſecond was, in recalling and reſtoring archbiſhop Anſelm, who, having been forced by the continual perſecutions of the ſame prince, to leave England, had lived ever ſince in baniſhment, and deprived of all his revenues.

The king had not been many months on his throne, when the news came that duke Robert, returned from the *Holy Land*, was received by his ſubjects with great marks of joy and honour, and in univerſal reputation for his valour and ſucceſs againſt the Infidels: ſoon after which, Ralph biſhop of Durham, either by the negligence or corruption of his keepers, eſcaped out of priſon, and

fled over to the duke; whom he ſtirred up to renew and ſolicit his pretenſions to the crown of England, by writing to ſeveral nobles, who, either through old friendſhip, or new diſcontent, or an opinion of his title, gave him promiſes of their aſſiſtance, as ſoon as he ſhould land in England: but the duke having returned exceeding poor from the *Holy Land*, was not yet in a condition for ſuch an undertaking, and therefore thought fit to defer it to a more ſeaſonable opportunity.

As the king had hitherto with great induſtry, ſought all occaſions to gratify his people, ſo he continued to do in the choice of a wife. This was Matilda,

daughter of Malcolm the late king of Scots; a lady of great piety and virtue, who, by the power of perſuaſion of her friends, was prevailed with to leave her cloyſter for a crown, after ſhe had, as ſome writers report, already taken the veil. Her mother was ſiſter to Edgar Atheling, the laſt heir male of the Saxon race; of whom frequent mention hath been made in the two preceding reigns: and thus the Saxon line, to the great contentment of the Engliſh nation, was again reſtored.

Duke Robert, having now with much difficulty and oppreſſion of his ſubjects, raiſed great forces, and gotten ready a fleet to convey them, reſolved

once more to aſſert his title to the crown of England; to which end he had for ſome time held a ſecret correſpondence with ſeveral nobles, and lately received freſh invitations. The king, on the other ſide, who had received timely intelligence of his brother's preparations, gave orders to his admirals to watch the ſea-ports, and endeavour to hinder the enemy's landing: but the commanders of ſeveral ſhips, whether Robert had won them by his bribes, or his promiſes, inſtead of offering reſiſtance, became his guides, and brought his fleet ſafe into Portſmouth, where he landed his men, and from thence marched to Wincheſter, his army hourly en-

creaſing by great numbers of people, who had either an affection for his perſon, an opinion of his title, or a hatred to the king. In the mean time Henry advanced with his forces, to be near the duke, and obſerve his motions; but, like a wiſe general, forbore offering battle to an invader, until he might do it with manifeſt advantages. Beſides, he knew very well that his brother was a perſon whoſe policy was to be ſooner overcome in a treaty than a fight: to this end, the nobles on both ſides began to have frequent interviews; to make overtures; and at laſt concert the terms of a peace; but wholly to the advantage of the king, Robert re-

nouncing his pretenſions in conſideration of a ſmall penſion, and of ſucceeding to the crown on default of male iſſue in his brother.

The defection of nobles and other people to the duke was ſo great, that men generally thought if it had come to a battle, the king would have loſt both the victory and his crown. But Robert, upon his return to Normandy after this diſhonourable peace, grew out of all reputation with the world, as well as into perfect hatred and contempt among his own ſubjects, which in a ſhort time was the cauſe of his ruin.

The king having thus by his prudence got rid of a danger-

ous and troubleſome rival, and ſoon after by his valour quelled the inſurrections of the earls of Shrewſbury and Mortain, whom he forced to fly into Normandy, found himſelf in full peace at home and abroad, and therefore thought he might venture a contention with the Church about the right of inveſting biſhops; upon which ſubject many other princes at that time had controverſy with their clergy: but, after long ſtruggling in vain, were all forced to yield at laſt to the decree of a ſynod in Rome, and to the pertinacy of the biſhops in the ſeveral countries. The form of inveſting a biſhop, was by delivery of a ring and a pa-

ſtoral ſtaff; which, at Rome, was declared unlawful to be performed by any lay-hand whatſoever; but the princes of Chriſtendom pleaded immemorial cuſtom to authorize them: and king Henry, having given the inveſtiture to certain biſhops, commanded Anſelm to conſecrate them. This the archbiſhop refuſed with great firmneſs, purſuant to what he underſtood to be his duty, and to ſeveral immediate commands of the pope. Both ſides adhering to their own ſentiments, the matter was caried to Rome, where Anſelm went in perſon, by the king's deſire; who, at the ſame time, ſent ambaſſadors thither to aſſert and defend his

cauſe; but the pope ſtill inſiſting, Anſelm was forbidden to return to England. The king ſeized on all his revenues, and would not reſtore him, until upon other conceſſions of the pope, Henry was content to yield up his pretenſions to the inveſtiture; but, however, kept the right of electing ſtill in his own hands.

Whatever might have been the method of electing biſhops, in the more primitive ages, it ſeems plain to me that in theſe times, and ſomewhat before, although the election was made *per clerum & populum;* yet the king always nominated at firſt, or approved afterwards, and generally both, as may be ſeen by

the ſtyle in which their elections ran, as well as by the perſons choſen, who were uſually churchmen of the court, or in ſome employment near the king. But whether this were a gradual encroachment of the regal upon the ſpiritual power, I had rather leave others to diſpute.

1104. About this time duke Robert came to England, upon a viſit to the king, where he was received with much kindneſs and hoſpitality; but, at the ſame time, the queen had private directions to manage his eaſy temper, and work him to a conſent of remitting his penſion: this was compaſſed without much difficulty: but, upon the duke's return to Normandy

he was ſeverely reproved for his weakneſs by Ralph biſhop of Durham, and the two earls of Mortain and Shrewſbury. Theſe three having fled from England for rebellion, and other treaſons, lived exiles in Normandy; and, bearing an inveterate hatred to the king reſolved to ſtir up the duke to a reſentment of the injury and fraud of his brother. Robert, who was various in his nature, and always under the power of the preſent perſuader, eaſily yielded to their incitements; reproached the king in bitter terms, by letters and meſſages, that he had cozened and circumvented him; demanding ſatisfaction, and withal threatening revenge. At the ſame time, by the advice of the three nobles

already mentioned, he began to arm himſelf as formidably as he could, with deſign to ſeize upon the king's poſſeſſions in Normandy: but as this reſolution was raſhly taken up, ſo it was faintly purſued, and ended in his deſtruction: neither hath any prince reaſon to expect better fortune, that engages in a war againſt a powerful neighbour upon the counſel or inſtigation of exiles, who having no farther view than to ſerve their private intereſt, or gratify their revenge, are ſure to ſucceed in one or t'other, if they can embark princes in their quarrel, whom they fail not to incite by the falſeſt repreſentations of their own ſtrength, and the

weakneſs of their enemy; for as the king was now ſettled in his throne too firm to be ſhaken, ſo Robert had wholly loſt all credit and friendſhip in England; was ſunk in reputation at home; and, by his unlimited profuſeneſs, reduced ſo low, that, having pawned moſt of his dominions, he had offered Rouen, his capital city, in ſale to the inhabitants. All this was well known to the king, who, 1105 reſolving to make his advantage thereof, pretended to be highly provoked at the diſgraceful ſpeeches and menaces of his brother; which he made the formal occaſion of a quarrel: therefore he firſt ſent over ſome forces to ravage his country;

and, underſtanding that the duke was coldly ſupported by his own ſubjects, many of whom came over to the king's army, he ſoon followed in perſon with more; took ſeveral towns; and, placing garriſons therein, came back to England, deſigning with the firſt pretext or opportunity to return with a more potent army, and wholly ſubdue the duchy to his obedience.

Robert, now grown ſenſible of his weakneſs, became wholly diſpirited; and following his brother into England, in a moſt dejected manner begged for peace: but the king, now fully determined upon his ruin turned away in diſdain, muttering at the ſame time ſome

threatening words. This indignity rouſed up once more the ſinking courage of the duke; who, with bitter words, deteſting the pride and inſolence of Henry, withdrew in a rage, and haſting back to Normandy, made what preparations he could for his own defence. The king obſerving his nobles very ready to engage with him in this expedition; and being aſſured that thoſe in Normandy would, upon his approach, revolt from the duke, ſoon followed with a mighty army, and the flower of his kingdom. Upon his arrival he was attended, according to his expectation, by ſeveral Norman lords; and, with this formidable force, ſat

down before Tenerchebray: the duke, accompanied by the two exiled earls, advanced with what ſtrength he had, in hopes to draw the enemy from the ſiege of ſo important a place, although at the hazard of a battle. Both armies being drawn out in battalia, that of the king's, truſting to their numbers, began the charge with
1106 great fury, but without any order. The duke, with forces far inferior, received the enemy with much firmneſs; and, finding they had ſpent their firſt heat, advanced very regularly againſt their main body, before they could recover themſelves from the confuſion they were in. He at-

tacked them with ſo much courage, that he broke their whole body, and they began to fly on every ſide. The king, believing all was loſt, did what he could by threats and gentle words to ſtop the flight of his men, but found it impoſſible: then he commanded two bodies of horſe, which were placed in either wing, to join, and wheeling about, to attack the enemy in the rear. The duke, who thought himſelf ſo near a victory, was forced to ſtop his purſuit; and ordering his men to face about, began the fight anew; mean time the ſcattered parts of the main body, which had ſo lately fled, began to rally, and pour in upon the Normans be-

hind, by which duke Robert's army was almoſt encompaſſed; yet they kept their ground awhile, and made ſeveral charges, until at length, pefectly overborn by numbers, they were utterly defeated. There duke Robert, doing all the parts of a great captain, was taken priſoner, together with the earl of Mortain, and almoſt his whole army: for being hemmed in on all ſides, few of them
1107 could make their eſcape.

Thus, in the ſpace of forty years, Normandy ſubdued England, and England Normandy; which are events perhaps hardly to be paralleled in any other ages or parts of the world.

The king, having ſtaid awhile

to ſettle the ſtate of Normandy, returned with his brother into England, whom he ſent priſoner to Cardiff caſtle, with orders that he ſhould be favourably uſed, which, for ſome time, were duly obſerved; until being accuſed of attempting to make his eſcape (whether it were real or feigned) he had his eyes put out with a burning baſin, by the king's expreſs commands; in which miſerable condition he lived for ſix and twenty years.

It is believed the king would hardly have engaged in this unnatural and invidious war, with ſo little pretence or provocation, if the pope had not openly approved and ſanctified his

cauſe, exhorting him to it as a meritorious action; which ſeems to have been but an ill return from the vicar of Chriſt to a prince who had performed ſo many brave exploits for the ſervice of the Church, to the hazard of his perſon, and ruin of his fortune. But the very bigotted monks, who have left us their accounts of thoſe times, do generally agree in heavily taxing the Roman court for bribery and corruption. And the king had promiſed to remit his right of inveſting biſhops, which he performed immediately after his reduction of Normandy, and was a matter of much more ſervice to the pope, than all the atchievements of duke

Robert in the Holy Land, whoſe merits, as well as pretenſions, were now antiquated and out of date.

1109. About this time the emperor Henry V. ſent to deſire Maude the king's daughter in marriage, who was then a child about eight years old. That prince had lately been embroiled in a quarrel with the ſee of Rome, which began upon the ſame ſubject of inveſting biſhops, but was carried to great extremities: for invading Italy with a mighty army, he took the pope priſoner, forced him to yield to whatever terms he thought fit to impoſe, and to take an oath of fidelity to him between his hands: however, as

ſoon as Henry had withdrawn his forces, the pope, aſſembling a council, revoked all his conceſſions, as extorted by compulſion, and raiſed great troubles in Germany againſt the emperor, who, in order to ſecure himſelf, ſought this alliance with the king.

About this time likewiſe died archbiſhop Anſelm, a prelate of great piety and learning, whoſe zeal for the ſee of Rome, as well as for his own rights and privileges, ſhould in juſtice be imputed to the errors of the time, and not of the man. After his death, the king, following the ſteps of his brother, held the ſee vacant five years, contenting himſelf with an excuſe,

which looked like a jeſt, that he only waited until he could find another ſo good a man as Anſelm.

In the fourteenth year of this king's reign, the Welſh, after their uſual manner, invaded the marches with great fury and deſtruction: but the king, hoping to put a final end to thoſe perpetual troubles and vexations given to his kingdom by that unquiet people, went in perſon againſt them with a powerful army; and to prevent their uſual ſtratagem of retreating to their woods and mountains, and other faſtneſſes, he ordered the woods to be cut down, beſet all their places of ſecurity, and hunting them like

wild beaſts, made ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that at length obſerving them to fling down their arms, and beg for quarter, he commanded his ſoldiers to forbear: then receiving their ſubmiſſions, and placing garriſons where he thought neceſſary, he returned, in great triumph and ſatisfaction, to London.

1114. The princeſs Maude, being now marriageable, was delivered to the emperor's ambaſſador; and for a portion to the young lady a tax was impoſed of three ſhillings upon every hide of land in England, which grew afterwards into a cuſtom*, and was in ſucceeding

* This ſort of impoſition was new to the Engliſh; but was a conſequence of the military

times confirmed by acts of parliament, under the name of *Reaſonable Aid for marrying the King's Daughter*, although levied after a different manner.

As the inſtitution of parliments in England is agreed by ſeveral writers to be owing to this king, ſo the date of the firſt hath been aſſigned by ſome to the fifteenth year of his reign; which however is not to be affirmed with any certainty: for great councils were con-

tenure eſtabliſhed by the Conqueror. The like aid, or ſcutage, as it was called, had been levied in other parts of Europe, wherever the feudal ſyſtem had taken place, as oft as the lord of the fief had occaſion to celebrate the nuptials of his eldeſt daughter, or the knighthood of his eldeſt ſon. We ſhould have heard of this demand earlier in England, if any ſuch occaſion had happened. Maude was the firſt princeſs-royal given in marriage after the conqueſt.

voked not only in the two preceding reigns, but for time immemorial by the Saxon princes, who firſt introduced them into this iſland, from the ſame original with the other Gothic forms of government in moſt parts of Europe. Theſe councils or aſſemblies were compoſed according to the pleaſure of the prince who convened them, generally of the nobles and biſhops, ſometimes were added ſome conſiderable commoners; but they ſeldom met, except in the beginning of a reign, or in times of war, until this king came to the crown; who, being a wiſe and popular prince, called theſe great aſſemblies upon moſt important affairs of his reign,

and ever followed their advice, which, if it proved ſucceſsful, the honour and advantage redounded to him, and if otherwiſe, he was free from the blame: thus when he choſe a wife for himſelf, and a huſband for his daughter, when he deſigned his expedition againſt Robert, and even for the election of an archbiſhop to the ſee of Canterbury, he proceeded wholly by the advice of ſuch general aſſemblies, ſummoned for the purpoſe. But the ſtyle of theſe conventions, as delivered by ſeveral authors, is very various; ſometimes it is *comites, barones, & cleri* *; his mariage

* Brompton.

was agreed on, *conſilio majorum natu & magnatum terræ.* One author * calls it *conſilium principum, ſacerdotum, & reliqui populi.* And for the election of an archbiſhop, the Saxon Chronicle ſays, that he commanded by letters all biſhops, abbots, and thanes, to meet him at Gloceſter *ad procerum conventum.* Laſtly, ſome affirm theſe aſſemblies to have been an imitation of the three eſtates in Normandy. I am very ſenſible how much time and pains have been employed by ſeveral learned men to ſearch out the original of parliaments in England, wherein I doubt they have little ſatisfied

* Polydore Virgil.

others or themſelves. I know likewiſe that to engage in the ſame enquiry, would neither ſuit my abilities nor my ſubject. It may be ſufficient for my purpoſe, if I be able to give ſome little light into this matter, for the curioſity of thoſe who are leſs informed.

The inſtitution of a ſtate or commonwealth out of a mixture of the three forms of government received in the ſchools, however it be derided as a ſoleciſm and abſurdity by ſome late writers on politics, hath been very ancient in the world, and is celebrated by the graveſt authors of antiquity. For altho' the ſupreme power cannot properly be ſaid to be divided, yet

it may be ſo placed in three ſeveral hands, as each to be a check upon the other; or formed into a balance, which is held by him that has the executive power, with the nobility and people in counterpoiſe in each ſcale. Thus the kingdom of Media is repreſented by Xenophon before the reign of Cyrus; ſo Polybius tells us, the beſt government is a mixture of the three forms, *regno, optimatium, & populi imperio:* the ſame was that of Sparta in its primitive inſtitution by Lycurgus, made up of *reges, ſeniores, & populus:* the like may be aſſerted of Rome, Carthage, and other ſtates: and the Germans of old fell upon the ſame model, from whence the

Goths their neighbours, with the reſt of thoſe northern people, did perhaps borrow it. But an aſſembly of the three eſtates is not properly of Gothic inſtitution: for theſe fierce people, when upon the decline of the Roman empire they firſt invaded Europe, and ſettled ſo many kingdoms in Italy, Spain, and other parts, were all heathens; and when a body of them had fixed themſelves in a tract of land left deſolate by the flight or deſtruction of the natives, their military government by time and peace became civil; the general was king, his great officers were his nobles and miniſters of ſtate, and the common ſoldiers the body of the

people; but theſe were freemen, and had ſmaller portions of land aſſigned them. The remaining natives were all ſlaves; the nobles were a ſtanding council; and upon affairs of great importance, the freemen were likewiſe called by their repreſentatives to give their advice. By which it appears, that the Gothic frame of government conſiſted at firſt but of two ſtates or aſſemblies, under the adminiſtration of a ſingle perſon. But after the converſion of theſe princes and their people to the Chriſtian faith, the Church became endowed with great poſſeſſions, as well by the bounty of kings, as the arts and induſtry of the clergy, winning

upon the devotion of their new converts: and power, by the common maxim, always accompanying property, the eccleſiaſtics began ſoon to grow conſiderable, to form themſelves into a body, and to call aſſemblies or ſynods by their own authority, or ſometimes by the command of their princes, who in an ignorant age had a mighty veneration for their learning as well as piety. By ſuch degrees the Church arrived at length, by very juſtifiable ſteps, to have her ſhare in the commonwealth, and became a third eſtate in moſt kingdoms of Europe; but theſe aſſemblies, as we have already obſerved, were ſeldom called in England before the

reign of this prince, nor even then were always compoſed after the ſame manner: neither does it appear from the writers who lived neareſt to that age, that the people had any repreſentative at all, beſide the barons and other nobles, who did not ſit in thoſe aſſemblies by virtue of their birth or creation, but of the lands or baronies they held. So that the preſent conſtitution of the Engliſh parliament hath, by many degrees and alterations, been modelled to the frame it is now in; which alterations I ſhall obſerve in the ſucceeding reigns as exactly as I can diſcover them by a diligent ſearch into the hiſtories of the ſeveral ages, without en-

gaging in the controverted points of law about this matter, which would rather perplex the reader than inform him.

1116. But to return, Louis the Groſs king of France, a valiant and active prince, in the flower of his age, ſucceeding to that crown about the time that Robert was deprived of Normandy, grew jealous of the neighbourhood and power of king Henry, and begun early to entertain deſigns either of ſubduing that duchy to himſelf, or at leaſt of making a conſiderable party againſt the king in favour of William ſon of Robert, whom for that end he had taken into his protection. Purſuant to theſe intentions, he ſoon

found an occaſion for a quarrel: expoſtulating with Henry, that he had broken his promiſe by not doing homage for the duchy of Normandy, as well as by neglecting to raze the caſtle of Giſors, which was built on the French ſide of the river Epte, the common boundary between both dominions *.

But an incident ſoon offered,

* Some years before there had been a treaty concluded between France and Normandy; wherein, among other points, it was agreed, That the frontier town Giſors ſhould be ſequeſtered in the hands of a baron called Payen, who was to receive into it neither Engliſh, nor Norman, nor French troops; but in caſe it ſhould fall into the hands of either of the two kings, it was ſtipulated that the walls ſhould be razed within the ſpace of forty days. Notwithſtanding this, Henry had ſeized the place; and when called upon to ſequeſter it, or elſe to raze the walls, declined the doing either. Father Daniel.

which gave king Henry a pretext for retaliating almoſt in the ſame manner: for it happened that upon ſome offence taken againſt his nephew Theobald count of Blois by the French king, Louis in great rage ſent an army to invade and ravage the earl's territories. Theobald defended himſelf for a while with much valour; but at length in danger to be overpowered, requeſted aid of his uncle the king of England, who ſupported him ſo effectually with men, and money, that he was able not only to defend his own country, but very much to infeſt and annoy his enemy. Thus a war was kindled between the two kings;

Louis now openly aſſerted the title of William the ſon of Robert, and entering into an alliance with the earls of Flanders and Anjou, began to concert meaſures for driving king Henry out of Normandy.

The king, having timely intelligence of his enemy's deſigns, began with great vigour and diſpatch to prepare himſelf for war: he raiſed, with much difficulty and diſcontent of his people, the greateſt tax that had ever been known in England; and paſſing over into Normandy with a mighty army, joined his nephew Theobald. The king of France, who had entertained hopes that he ſhould over-run the duchy before his

enemy could arrive, advanced with great ſecurity towards the frontiers of Normandy; but obſerving an enemy of equal number and forces already prepared to engage him, he ſuddenly ſtopt his march. The two armies faced one another for ſome hours, neither ſide offering battle: the reſt of that day was ſpent in light ſkirmiſhes begun by the French, and repeated for ſome days following with various ſucceſs; but the remainder of the year paſſed without any conſiderable action.

1119. At length the violence of the two princes brought it to a battle: for Louis, to give a reputation to his arms, advanced towards the frontiers of Nor-

mandy, and after a ſhort ſiege took Gue Nicaiſe *: there the king met him, and the fight began, which continued with great obſtinacy on both ſides for nine hours. The French army was divided into two bodies, and the Engliſh into three; by which means, that part where the king fought in perſon, being attacked by a ſuperior number, began to give way; and William Criſpin, a Norman baron, ſingling out the king of England (whoſe ſubject he had been, but baniſhed for treaſon) ſtruck him twice in the head with ſo much violence, that the blood guſhed out of his mouth.

* At that time reckoned an important fortreſs on the river Epte.

The king, inflamed with rage and indignation, delt ſuch furious blows, that he ſtruck down ſeveral of his enemies, and Criſpin among the reſt, who was taken priſoner, at his horſe's feet. The ſoldiers, encouraged by the valour of their prince, rallied and fell on with freſh vigour, and the victory ſeemed doubtful, when William the ſon of king Henry, to whom his father had intruſted the third body of his army, which had not yet engaged, fell on with this freſh reſerve upon the enemy, who was already very much harraſſed with the toil of the day: this quickly decided the matter; for the French, tho' valiantly fighting, were over-

come, with the ſlaughter of ſeveral thouſand men; their king quitted the field, and withdrew to Andeli; but the king of England, recovering Gue Nicaiſe, returned triumphant to Rouen.

This important victory was followed by the defection of the earl of Anjou to king Henry, and the earl of Flanders fell in the battle; by which the king of France was at once deprived of two powerful allies. However, by the interceſſion of the former, a peace was ſoon after made between both crowns. William the king's ſon did homage to Louis for the dukedom of Normandy; and the other William, following the fortunes of his father, was

left to his pretenſions and complaints.

It is here obſervable, that from this time, until Wales was ſubdued to the Engliſh crown, the eldeſt ſons of England were called dukes of Normandy, as they are now princes of Wales.

1120. The king having ſtaid ſome time in Normandy, for the ſettlement of this duchy after the calamities and confuſions of a war, returned to England, to the very great ſatisfaction of his people and himſelf. He had enlarged his dominions by the conqueſt of Normandy; he had ſubdued all his competitors, and forced even the king of France, their great protector, after a glorious victory, to his

own conditions of a peace; he was upon very good terms with the pope, who had a great eſteem and friendſhip for his perſon, and made him larger conceſſions than uſual from that ſee, and in thoſe ages. At home he was reſpected by the clergy, reverenced by the nobles, and beloved by the people; in his family he was bleſſed with a ſon of much hopes, juſt growing to years of manhood, and his daughter was an empreſs; ſo that he ſeemed to poſſeſs as great a ſhare of happineſs as human life is capable to admit. But the felicity of man depends upon a conjunction of many circumſtances, which are all ſubject to vari-

ous accidents, and every ſingle accident is able to diſſolve the whole contexture; which truth was never verified more than in this prince, who by one domeſtic misfortune, not to be prevented or foreſeen, found all the pleaſure and content he propoſed to himſelf by his prudence, his induſtry, and his valour, wholly diſappointed and deſtroyed: for William the young prince, having imbarked at Barfleur ſome time after his father, the mariners being all drunk, ſuffered the ſhip to run upon a rock, where it was daſhed to pieces: the prince made a ſhift to get into the boat, and was making to the ſhore, until forced back by the cries

of his ſiſter, whom he received into the boat, ſo many others crouded in at the ſame time, that it was immediately overturned. There periſhed, beſide the prince, a natural ſon and daughter of the king's, his niece, and many other perſons of quality, together with all their attendants and ſervants, to the number of a hundred and forty, beſides fifty mariners, but one perſon eſcaping.

Although the king ſurvived this cruel misfortune many years, yet he could never recover his former humour, but grew melancholy and moroſe; however, in order to provide better for the peace and ſettlement of the kingdom after his

death, about five months after the loſs of his ſon, his former queen having died three days before, he married Adelais, a beautiful yong lady of the family of Lorrain *, in hopes of iſſue by her, but never had any.

The death of the prince gave occaſion to ſome new troubles in Normandy; for the earls of Meulant and Evreux, Hugh de Montfort, and other aſſociates, began to raiſe inſurrections there, which were thought to be privately fomented by the French king, out of enmity to king Henry, and in favour of William the ſon of Robert, to

* She was daughter of Godfrey duke of Louvain, or the Lower Lorrain.

whom the earl of Anjou had lately given his daughter
1124 in marriage. But William of Tankerville, the king's lieutenant in Normandy, furprizing the enemy's forces by an ambuſh, intirely routed them, took both the earls priſoners, and ſent one of them (Meulant) to his maſter; but the count d' Evereux made his eſcape

1126. King Henry, having now loſt hope of iſſue by his new queen, brought with him, on his return to England, his daughter Maude, who by the emperor's death had been lately left a widow and childleſs; and in a parliament or general aſſembly which he had ſummoned at Windſor, he cauſed the

crown to be ſettled on her children, and made all his nobles take a ſolemn oath to defend her title. This was performed by none with ſo much forwardneſs as Stephen earl of Boulogne, who was obſerved to ſhew a more than ordinary zeal in the matter. This young lord was the king's nephew, being ſecond ſon of the earl of Blois by Adela the Conqueror's daughter: he was in high favour with the king his uncle, who had married him to the daughter and heireſs of the earl of Boulogne, given him great poſſeſſions in England, and made him indeed too powerful for a ſubject.

The king, having thus fixed

the ſucceſſion of the crown in his daughter by an act of ſettlement and an oath of fealty, looked about to provide her with a ſecond huſband, and at length determined his choice in Geoffry Plantagenet earl of Anjou, the ſon of Fulk lately deceaſed.

This prince, whoſe dominions confined on France and Normandy, was uſually courted for an ally by both kings in their ſeveral quarrels; but having little faith or honour, he never ſcrupled to change ſides as often as he ſaw or conceived it for his advantage. After the great victory over the French, he cloſed in with king Henry, and gave his daughter to the young prince William; yet at the ſame time, by the private encouragement of

Louis, he prevailed on the king of England to be eaſy in the conditions of a peace. Upon the unfortunate loſs of the prince, and the troubles in Normandy thereupon, he fell again from the king, gave his other daughter to William the ſon of Robert, and ſtruck up with France to take that prince again into protection. But dying ſoon after, and leaving his ſon Geoffry to ſucceed in that earldom, the king was of opinion he could not any where beſtow his daughter with more advantage, both for the ſecurity and enlargement of his dominions, than by giving her to this earl; by which marriage Anjou would become an acquiſition

to Normandy, and this be a more equal match to ſo formidable a neighbour as France. In a ſhort time the marriage was concluded; and this earl Geoffry had the honour to introduce into the royal family of England the ſurname of Plantagenet, borne by ſo many ſucceeding kings, which began with Henry II. who was the eldeſt ſon of this marriage.

But the king of France was in great diſcontent at this match: he eaſily foreſaw the diſmal conſequences to himſelf and his ſucceſſors from ſuch an increaſe of dominion united to the crown of England: he knew what impreſſions might be made in future times to the ſhaking

of his throne by an aſpiring and warlike king, if they ſhould happen in a weak reign, or upon any great diſcontents in that kingdom. Which conjectures being highly reaſonable (and ſince often verified by events) he caſt about to find ſome way of driving the king of England intirely out of France; but having neither pretext nor ſtomach in the midſt of a peace to begin an open and formal quarrel, there fell out an accident which gave him plauſible occaſion of purſuing his deſign.

Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, having been lately murdered by ſome of his ſubjects, upon private revenge, the king

of France went in perſon to take revenge of the aſſaſſins; which he performed with great juſtice and honour. But the late earl leaving no heir of his body, and ſeveral competitors appearing to diſpute the ſucceſſion, Louis rejected ſome others who ſeemed to have a fairer title, and adjudged it to William the ſon of Robert, the better to ſecure him to his intereſts upon any deſign he might engage in againſt the king of England. Not content with this, he aſſiſted the earl in perſon, ſubdued his rivals, and left him in peaceable poſſeſſion of his new dominion.

King Henry, on the other ſide, was very apprehenſive of his nephew's greatneſs, well knowing to what end it was

directed; however, he ſeemed not to regard it, contenting himſelf to give the earl employment at home by privately nouriſhing the diſcontents of his new ſubjects, and abetting under-hand another pretender: for William had ſo intirely loſt the hearts of his people, by his intolerable avarice and exactions, that the principal towns in Flanders revolted from him, and invited Thierrie earl of Alſace to be their governor. But the king of France generouſly reſolved to appear once more in his defence, and took his third expedition into Flanders for that purpoſe. He had marched as far as to Artois, when he was ſuddenly recalled to defend his own do-

minions from the fury of a powerful and provoked invader: for Henry king of England, moved with indignation to ſee the French king in the midſt of a peace ſo frequently and openly ſupporting his moſt dangerous enemy, thought it the beſt way to divert Louis from kindling a fire againſt him abroad, by forcing him to extinguiſh one at home: he therefor entered into the bowels of France, ravaging and laying waſte all before him, and quickly grew ſo formidable, that the French king to purchaſe a peace was forced to promiſe never more to aſſiſt or favour the earl of Flanders. However, as it fell out, this article proved to be wholly needleſs: for the young earl

ſoon after gave battle to Thierrie, and put his whole army to the rout; but purſuing his victory, he received a wound in his wriſt, which, by the unſkilfulneſs of a ſurgeon, coſt him his life *.

This one ſlight inconſiderable accident did, in all probability, put a ſtop to very great events; for if that young prince had ſurvived his victory, it is hardly to be doubted but through the juſtneſs of his cauſe, the reputation of his valour, and the aſſiſtance of the king of France, he would in a little time have recovered Normandy, and per-

* The lance paſſed through or under the ball of his thumb into his wriſt. The wound gangrening, he died within five days.

haps his father's liberty, which were the two deſigns he had in agitation; nor could he well have miſſed the crown of England after the king's death, who was now in his decline, when he had ſo fair a title, and no competitors in view but a woman and an infant.

1129. Upon the king's return from Normandy, a great council of the clergy was held at London, for the puniſhing of prieſts who lived in concubinage *, which was the great

* For celibacy was now placed among the firſt of eccleſiaſtic virtues. Not concubines only but wives were deemed a reproach to the ſacred order; and canons were made for inflicting equal puniſhments on clergymen who cohabited with either: nay, the wives of prieſts were denied to be wives, and degraded into the rank of concubines.

grievance of the church in thoſe ages, and had been condemned

At ſome preceding councils in this reign, ſevere decrees paſſed to reſtrain eccleſiaſtics from matrimony, and to chaſtiſe thoſe who being married ſhould neglect to repudiate their wives. If a prieſt, deacon, ſubdeacon, &c. ſhould ſuffer any woman, except a mother, ſiſter, aunt, or perſon equally unſuſpected, to dwell in the houſe with him, he was to be puniſhed with loſs of benefice and loſs of his order, and the concubinary or ſuſpected female to be arreſted, diſciplined, or reduced to be a ſlave. [Concil. Lond. anno 1126. c. 13.—Weſtmonaſt. anno 1127. c. 5,7.] Theſe were laws which the policy of Rome ſuggeſted, but which the king and lay-barons might not fully approve. They were laws that could not, however, be put generally in execution, conſidering the number and power of the married clergy at this time (to whoſe claim of the honourable and undefiled bed the laſt blow had not yet been given) without the aid and concurrence of the civil power: the king ſeemed ready to co-operate, and found his advantage in ſo doing. In the very beginning of his reign, he was remarkably active in enforcing the new canons againſt clerical incontinency, by levying fines on the tranſgreſſors, without waiting for their conviction in an eccleſiaſtical court, or rather in lieu of the penalties which ſuch court might inflict,

by ſeveral canons. This aſſembly, thinking to take a more ef-

This was thought an invaſion of the ſpiritual power, and beſides a motive of avarice was ſuppoſed to lurk under the zeal he pretended for the chaſtity of the Church. Anſelm, tho' lately reſtored to royal favour, and to the poſſeſſion of the revenues of his ſee, could not brook ſuch proceedings: he diſpatched out of Normandy a chiding epiſtle to the king. A ſhort extract from it may ſhew the ſpirit of the man, and the ſtyle in which biſhops durſt admoniſh their ſovereigns. "Audio quot veſtra excellentia "vindictam exercet ſuper preſbyteros Angliæ, "et forisfacturam exigit ab iis qui non ſerva-"verunt præceptum concilii, quod ego cum "veſtra favore tenui apud Lundoniam cum "aliis epiſcopis, *&c.* quod hactenus inauditum "& inuſitatum in eccleſia Dei de ullo rege & "de aliquo principe. Non enim pertinet— hu-"juſmodi culpam vindicare, niſi ad ſingulos "epiſcopos—aut, ſi & epiſcopi in hoc negli-"gentes fuerint, ad archiepiſcopum & prima-"tem—precor igitur—& conſulo,—ne vos "contra eccleſiaſticam conſuetudinem in tam "grave peccatum mittatis—dico enim vobis, "quod valde timere debetis, quod pecunia tali-"ter accepta—non adjuvabit terrena negotia; "ut taceam, quantum noceat animæ, quantum "poſtea perturbabit." The king, after ſuch an increpation, was cautious of interfering with

fectual courſe againſt that abomination, as it was called, decreed ſevere penalties upon thoſe who ſhould be guilty of breaking it, intreating the king to ſee the law put in execution; which he very readily undertook, but performed otherwiſe than was expected, eluding the force of the law by an evaſion to his own advantage: for exacting fines of the delinquent prieſts, he ſuffered them to keep their concubines without further diſturbance. A very unaccount-

eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Freſh ſynods threw out more invectives and fiercer menaces againſt the concubinage, under which term was included the marriage of clerks; but the evil was ſtill unremoved. Thus matters ſtood before the opening of the council of London in 1129, whoſe impolitic management is here cenſured by Dr. Swift.

able ſtep in ſo wiſe a body for their own concernments, as the clergy of thoſe times is looked upon to have been! and altho' perhaps the fact be not worth recording, it may ſerve as a leſſon to all aſſemblies never to truſt the execution of a law in the hands of thoſe who will find it more to their intereſts to ſee it broken than obſerved *.

* The king might now, it ſeems, animadvert upon licentious and married prieſts without fear of a primate's reprimand; the Church itſelf had reſigned this branch of her diſcipline to him: but he was far from anſwering the warm expectations of the advocates for celibacy. Fines indeed he exacted from ſuch as treſpaſſed againſt the canons: this was a happy expedient for repleniſhing his coffers; but when thoſe fines had been paid by clerks under cenſure, he connived at their retaining wives, and indulged them the protection of the civil power. For we muſt not ſay with Alfred and other Jeſuits, that he connived at their keeping ſtrum-

1132. The empreſs Maude was now happily delivered of a ſon, who was afterwards king of England by the name of Henry the Second: and the king, calling a parliament, had the oath of fealty repeated by the nobles and clergy to her and her iſſue, which in the compaſs of

pets, notwithſtanding that the term focariæ, uſed by Matthew Paris, may ſeem to favour ſuch reproach. Uxores is the appellation expreſsly given to thoſe ſpared and pitied domeſtics by Henry Huntingdon, Hovedon, the Annals of Margan and of Waverley, and the Chronicon of Heningford. [See Collier, Eccl. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 322.] If it was an overſight in the clergy to intruſt the king with the execution of their laws againſt concubinage, Henry however acted, on this occaſion, the good politician, by diſpenſing with thoſe who could not bear a ſeparation from their wives. It was not his buſineſs to extinguiſh connubial love, or deſtroy family connexions in that order. A married clergy, he might reaſonably imagine, would never become ſlaves to Rome, nor conſpire with any pope to ſubvert the civil conſtitution.

three years they all broke or forgot.

1134. I think it may deſerve a place in this history to mention the laſt ſcene of duke Robert's life, who, either through the poorneſs or greatneſs of ſpirit, having outlived the loſs of his honour, his dominions, his liberty, his eye-ſight, and his only ſon, was at laſt forced to ſink under the load of eighty years, and muſt be allowed for the greateſt example either of inſenſibility or contempt of earthly things, that ever appeared in a ſovereign or private perſon. He was a prince hardly equalled by any in his time for valour, conduct, and courteſy; but his ruin began from the eaſineſs of his nature, which

whoever knew how to manage, were ſure to be refuſed nothing they could aſk. By ſuch profuſion he was reduced to thoſe unhappy expedients of remitting his rights for a penſion, of pawning his towns, and multiplying taxes, which brought him into hatred and contempt with his ſubjects: neither do I think any virtue ſo little commendable in a ſovereign as that of liberality, where it exceeds what his ordinary revenues can ſupply; where it paſſes thoſe bounds, his ſubjects muſt all be oppreſſed to ſhew his bounty to a few flatterers; or he muſt ſell his towns, or baſely renounce his rights, by becoming penſioner to ſome powerful prince in the neigh-

bourhood: all which we have lived to ſee performed by a late monarch in our own time and country.

1135. Since the reduction of Normandy to the king's obedience, he found it neceſſary for his affairs to ſpend in that duchy ſome part of his time almoſt every year, and a little before the death of Robert he made his laſt voyage there. It was obſervable in this prince, that having ſome years paſt very narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck in his paſſage from Normandy into England, the ſenſe of his danger had made very deep impreſſions on his mind, which he diſcovered by a great reformation in his life, by redreſſing ſeveral

grievances, and doing many acts of piety; and to ſhew the ſteadineſs of his reſolutions, he kept them to the laſt, making a progreſs through moſt parts of Normandy, treating his ſubjects in all places with great familiarity and kindneſs, and granting their petitions, eaſing their taxes, and, in a word, giving all poſſible marks of a religious, wiſe, and gracious prince.

Returning to St. Denys le Forment from his progreſs a little indiſpoſed, he there fell into a fever upon a ſurfeit of lamprey, which in a few days ended his life. His body was conveyed to England, and buried at Reading in the abbey-church himſelf had founded.

It is hard to affirm any thing peculiar of this prince's character; thoſe authors who have attempted it mentioning very little but what was common to him with thouſands of other men; neither have they recorded any of thoſe perſonal circumſtances or paſſages, which only can diſcover ſuch qualities of the mind as moſt diſtinguiſh one man from another. Theſe defects may perhaps appear in the ſtories of many ſucceeding kings; which makes me hope I ſhall not be altogether blamed for ſometimes diſappointing the reader in a point wherein I could wiſh to be the moſt exact.

As to his perſon, he is deſcrib-

ed to be of middle ſtature; his body ſtrong ſet and fleſhy; his hair black; his eyes large; his countenance amiable, and very pleaſant, eſpecially when he was merry. He was temperate in meat and drink, and a hater of effeminacy, a vice or folly much complained of in his time, eſpecially that circumſtance of long artificial hair, which he forbad upon ſevere penalties. His three principal virtues were prudence, valour, and eloquence. Theſe were counterbalanced by three great vices; avarice, cruelty, and luſt; of which the firſt is proved by the frequency of his taxes; the ſecond by his treatment of duke Robert; and the laſt was notori-

ous. But the proof of his virtues doth not depend on ſingle inſtances, manifeſting themſelves through the whole courſe of a long reign, which was hardly attended by any misfortune that prudence, juſtice, or valour could prevent. He came to the crown at a ripe age, when he had paſſed thirty years, having learned, in his private life, to ſtruggle with hardſhips, whereof he had his ſhare, from the capriciouſneſs and injuſtice of both his brothers; and by obſerving their failures, he had learned to avoid them in himſelf, being ſteady and uniform in his whole conduct, which were qualities they both ſeemed chiefly to want. This likewiſe

made him ſo very tenacious as he was obſerved to in his love and hatred. He was a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, which he ſeems never to have violated, but in that particular caſe, which political caſuiſts are pleaſed to diſpenſe with, where the diſpute is about a crown. In that he †

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Conſider him as a private man, he was perhaps the moſt accompliſhed perſon of his age, having a facetious wit, cultivated by learning, and advanced with a great ſhare of natural eloquence, which was his peculiar talent: and it was no doubt the ſenſe he had of this

† Here the ſentence breaks off ſhort, and is left unfiniſhed.

laſt perfection in himſelf, that put him ſo often upon calling together the great councils of the nation, where natural oratory is of moſt figure as well as uſe.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

STEPHEN.

THE veneration which people are ſuppoſed naturally to pay to a right line, and a lawful title in their kings, muſt be upheld by a long uninterrupted ſucceſſion, otherwiſe it quickly loſes opinion, upon which the ſtrength of it, altho' not the juſtice, is entirely founded: and where breaches have been already made in the line-

al deſcent, there is little ſecurity in a good title (though confirmed by promiſes and oaths) where the lawful heir is abſent, and a popular aſpiring pretender near at hand. This, I think, may paſs for a maxim, if any conſequences drawn from hiſtory can pretend to be called ſo, having been verified ſucceſſively three times in this kingdom, I mean by the two preceding kings, and by the prince whoſe reign we are now writing. Neither can this obſervation be juſtly controuled by any inſtances brought of future princes, who, being abſent at their predeceſſor's death, have peaceably ſucceeded, the circumſtances being very different in

every caſe, either by the weakneſs or juſtice of pretenders, or elſe by the long eſtabliſhment of lineal ſucceſſion.

1135. Stephen earl of Boulogne, whoſe deſcent hath been already ſhewn in the foregoing reign, was the ſecond of three brothers, whereof the eldeſt was Theobald earl of Blois, a ſovereign prince, and Henry the youngeſt was biſhop of Wincheſter, and the pope's legate in England. At the time of king Henry's death, his daughter the empreſs was with her huſband the earl of Anjou, a grave and cautious prince, altogether unqualified for ſudden enterprizes: but earl Stephen, who had at-

tended the king in his laſt expedition, made ſo great diſpatch for England *, that the council had not time to meet and make any declaration about a ſucceſſor. When the lords were aſſembled, the legate had already, by his credit and influence among them, brought over a great party to his brother's intereſts; and the earl himſelf, knowing with what ſucceſs the like methods were uſed by his two predeceſſors, was very liberal of his promiſes to amend the laws, ſupport the

* Stephen was at Boulogne when he received the news of Henry's death. The lords preſent with the king at the time of his deceaſe, were the earls of Gloceſter, Surry, and Leiceſter; the counts of Mortagne and Meulant, and ſome governors of caſtles.

church, and redreſs grievances: for all which the biſhop undertook to be guarantee. And thus was Stephen elected by thoſe very perſons who had ſo lately, and in ſo ſolemn a manner, more than once ſworn fealty to another.

The motives, whereby the nobility was ſwayed to proceed after this manner, were obvious enough. There had been a perpetual ſtruggle between them and their former kings in the defence of their liberties; for the ſecurity whereof, they thought a king, elected without other title, would be readier to enter into any obligations, and being held in conſtant dependence, would be leſs tempt-

ed to break them: therefor, as at his coronation they obtained full ſecurity by his taking new and additional oaths in favour of their liberties, their oath of fealty to him was but, conditional to be of force no longer than he ſhould be true to thoſe ſtipulations.

But other reaſons were contrived and given out to ſatisfy the people: they were told it was an indignity for ſo noble a nation to be governed by a woman; that the late king had promiſed to marry his daughter within the realm, and by conſent of parliament, neither of which was obſerved: and laſtly, Hugh Bigod, ſteward to king Henry, took a voluntary oath, before the archbiſhop of Can-

terbury, that his maſter, in his laſt ſickneſs, had, upon ſome diſpleaſure, diſinherited his daughter.

He received the crown with one great advantage that could beſt enable him to preſerve it: this was the poſſeſſion of his uncle's treaſures, amounting to one hundred thouſand pounds, and reckoned as a prodigious ſum in thoſe days; by the help of which, without ever raiſing one tax upon the people, he defended an unjuſt title againſt the lawful heir during a perpetual conteſt of almoſt twenty years.

In order to defend himſelf againſt any ſudden invaſion, which he had cauſe enough to

expect, he gave all men licence to build caſtles upon their lands, which proved a very miſtaken piece of politics, although grounded upon ſome appearance of reaſon. The king ſuppoſed that no invader would venture to advance into the heart of his country without reducing every caſtle in his way, which muſt be a work of much time and difficulty, nor would be able to afford men to block them up, and ſecure his retreat: which way of arguing may be good enough to a prince of an undiſputed title, and entirely in the hearts of his ſubjects: but numerous caſtles are ill defenders of an uſurpation, being the common retreat of malecontents, where

they can fly with ſecurity, and diſcover their affections as they pleaſe: by which means the enemy, although beaten in the field, may ſtill preſerve his footing in the bowels of a country; may wait ſupplies from abroad, and prolong a war for many years: nor, while he is maſter of any caſtles, can he ever be at mercy by any ſudden misfortune; but may be always in a condition of demanding terms for himſelf. Theſe, and many other effects of ſo pernicious a counſel, the king found thro' the whole courſe of his reign; which was entirely ſpent in ſieges, revolts, ſurprizes, and ſurrenders, with very great battles, but no deciſive action: a

period of much miſery and confuſion, which affords little that is memorable for events, or uſeful for the inſtruction of poſterity.

1136. The firſt conſiderable enemy that appeared againſt him was David king of Scots, who, having taken the oath of fealty to Maude and her iſſue, being further engaged by the ties of blood, and ſtirred up thro' the perſuaſions of ſeveral nobles, began to take up arms in her cauſe; and invading the northern parts, took Carliſle and Newcaſtle; but upon the king's ſpeedy approach with his forces, a peace was preſently made, and the towns reſtored. However, the Scottiſh prince would,

by no means, renounce his fidelity to the empreſs, by paying homage to Stephen; ſo that an expedient was found to have it performed by his eldeſt ſon: in conſideration of which the king gave, or rather reſtored, to him the earldom of Huntington.

Upon his return to London from his expedition, he happened to fall ſick of a lethargy, and it was confidently given out that he was dead. This report was, with great induſtry and artifice, diſperſed by his enemies, which quickly diſcovered the ill inclination of ſeveral lords, who, although they never believed the thing, yet made uſe of it for an occaſion or pretext to fortify their caſtles,

which they refuſed to ſurrender to the king himſelf; but Stephen was reſolved, as he ſaid, to convince them that he was alive and well; for coming againſt them before he was expected, he recovered Exeter, Norwich *, and other fortified places, although not without much difficulty.

It is obvious enough to wonder how a prince of ſo much valour, and other excellent endowments, elected by the church and ſtate, after a compliance with all conditions they could impoſe on him, and in an age when ſo little regard was had to the lineal deſcent, laſtly confirmed by the pope himſelf,

* Hugh Bigod had ſeized Norwich caſtle.

ſhould be ſo ſoon deſerted and oppoſed by thoſe very perſons who had been the moſt inſtrumental to promote him. But, beſide his defective title, and the undiſtinguiſhed liberty of building caſtles, there were three circumſtances which very much contributed to thoſe perpetual revolts of the nobles againſt him: firſt, that upon his coming to the crown he was very liberal in diſtributing lands and honours to ſeveral young gentlemen of noble birth, who came to make their court, whereby he hoped to get the reputation of a generous prince, and to ſtrengthen his party againſt the empreſs: but, by this encouragement, the number of pretenders quickly grew too

faſt upon him; and when he had granted all he was able, he was forced to diſmiſs the reſt with promiſes and excuſes, who, either out of envy or diſcontent, or elſe to mend their fortunes, never failed to become his enemies upon the firſt occaſion that offered. Secondly, when he had reduced ſeveral caſtles and towns which had given the firſt example of defection from him, he hardly inflicted the leaſt puniſhment on the authors; which unſeaſonable mercy, that in another prince and another age would have been called greatneſs of ſpirit, paſſed in him for puſillanimity and fear, and is reckoned, by the writers of thoſe times, to have been the cauſe of

many ſucceeding revolts. The third circumſtance was of a different kind: for, obſerving how little good effect he had found by his liberality and indulgence, he would needs try the other extreme, which was not his talent. He began to infringe the articles of his charter; to recal or diſown the promiſes he had made; and to repulſe petitioners with rough treatment, which was the more unacceptable by being new and unexpected.

1137. Mean time the earl of Anjou, who was not in a condition to aſſert his wife's title to England, hearing Stephen was employed at home, entered Normandy with ſmall force,

and found it no difficult matter to ſeize ſeveral towns. The Normans, in the preſent diſtraction of affairs, not well knowing what prince to obey, at laſt ſent an invitation to Theobald earl of Blois, king Stephen's eldeſt brother, to accept their dukedom upon the condition of protecting them from the preſent inſults of the earl of Anjou. But before this matter could come to an iſſue, Stephen, who, upon reduction of the towns already mentioned, had found a ſhort interval of quiet from his Engliſh ſubjects, arrived with unexpected ſpeed into Normandy; where Geoffry of Anjou ſoon fled before him, and the whole duchy came over to his obedi-

ence; for the further ſettlement whereof he made peace with the king of France; conſtituted his ſon Euſtace duke of Normandy; and made him ſwear fealty to that prince, and do him homage. His brother Theobald, who began to expoſtulate upon this diſappointment, he pacified with a penſion of two thouſand marks *: and even the earl of Anjou himſelf, who, in right of his wife, made demands of Stephen for the kingdom of England, finding he was no equal match at preſent, was perſuaded to become his

* The mark of Normandy is to be underſtood here. Such a penſion in that age was equivalent to one of 31,000 *l.* ſterling in the preſent.

penſioner for five thouſand more *.

Stephen, upon his return to England, met with an account of new troubles from the north; for the king of Scots, under pretence of obſerving his oath of fealty to the empreſs, infeſted the borders, and frequently making cruel inroads, plundered and laid waſte all before him.

1138. In order to revenge this baſe and perfidious treatment, the king, in his march northward, ſat down before Bedford, and took it after a ſiege of twenty days. This town was part of the earldom of Hunting-

* Five thouſand marks of ſilver coin was, in this reign, of the ſame value as the ſum of 77,500 *l.* modern currency is now. Here again the Normanic mark ſeems to be uſed.

ton, given by Stephen in the late peace to the eldeſt ſon of the Scottiſh king, for which the young prince did homage to him; and it was upon that account defended by a garriſon of Scots. Upon intelligence of this ſurrender, king David, overcome with fury, entered Northumberland, where, letting looſe the rage of his ſoldiers, he permitted and encouraged them to commit all manner of inhumanities; which they performed in ſo execrable a manner as would ſcarce be credible, if it were not atteſted by almoſt the univerſal conſent of writers: they ript up women with child, drew out the infants, and toſſed

them upon the points of their lances: they murdered prieſts before the altar; then cutting the heads from off the crucifixes, in their ſtead put on the heads of thoſe they had murdered; with many other inſtances of monſtrous barbarity too foul to relate: but cruelty being uſually attended with cowardice, this perfidious prince, upon the approach of king Stephen, fled into places of ſecurity. The king of England, finding no enemy on whom to employ his revenge, marched forward into the country, deſtroying with fire and ſword all the ſouthern parts; and would, in all probability, have made terrible impreſſions

into the heart of Scotland, if he had not been ſuddenly recalled by a more dangerous fire at home, which had been kindled in his abſence, and was now broken out into a flame,

Robert earl of Gloceſter, natural ſon of the late king, came into England ſome time after the advancement of Stephen to the crown; and, yielding to the neceſſity of the time, took the oath of fealty upon the ſame condition uſed by the other nobles, to be of force ſo long as the king ſhould keep his faith with him, and preſerve his dignity inviolate: but, being in his heart wholly devoted to the intereſts of the empreſs his ſiſter, and

moved by the perſuaſions of ſeveral religious men, he had, with great ſecrecy and application, ſo far practiſed upon the levity or diſcontents of ſeveral lords, as to gain them to his party: for the king had, of late, very much alienated the nobles againſt him; firſt, by ſeizing ſeveral of their perſons, and diſpoſſeſſing them of their lands; and, ſecondly, by taking into his favour William D'Ypres, a Flemiſh commander, of noble birth, but baniſhed by his prince. This man, with many of his followers, the king employed chiefly both in his councils and his armies, and made him earl of Kent, to the great envy and diſpleaſure

of his Engliſh ſubjects. The earl of Gloceſter, therefor, and his accomplices, having prepared all things neceſſary for an inſurrection, it was agreed among them, that while the king was engaged againſt the Scots, each of them ſhould ſecure what towns and caſtles they could, and openly declare for the empreſs. Accordingly earl Robert ſuddenly fortified himſelf in Briſtol; the reſt followed his example; Hereford, Shrewſbury, Ludlow, Dover *, and many other places

* Robert earl of Gloceſter had been intruſted by Stephen with the cuſtody of Dover Caſtle: but Robert lying now under heavy ſuſpicion, the king reſolving to ſecure that important fortreſs by force, ſent Matilda his queen to lay ſiege to it; to whom, after ſome defence, Walchelin, the deputy-governor, ſurrendered it.

were ſeized by ſeveral lords, and the defection grew ſo formidable, that the king, to his great grief, was forced to leave his Scottiſh expedition unfiniſhed, and returned with all poſſible ſpeed to ſuppreſs the rebellion begun by his ſubjects; having firſt left the care of the north to Thurſtan archbiſhop of York; with orders carefully to obſerve the motions of the Scots.

Whilſt the king was employed in the ſouth in reducing his diſcontented lords, and their caſtles, to his obedience, David, preſuming upon the diſtance between them, re-entered England with more numerous forces, and greater deſigns, than be-

fore: for, without loſing more time than what was neceſſary to pillage and deſtroy the country as he marched, he reſolved to beſiege York, which, if he could force to ſurrender, would ſerve as a convenient frontier againſt the Engliſh. To this end, advancing near the city, and having pitched his tents, he ſat down before it with his whole army. In the mean time archbiſhop Thurſtan, having already ſummoned the nobles and gentry of the ſhire and parts adjacent, had, by powerful perſuaſions, incited them to defend their country againſt a treacherous, bloody, and reſtleſs enemy: ſo that before the king of Scotland could make any progreſs in the

ſiege, the whole power of the north was united againſt him, under the earl of Albemarle, and ſeveral other nobles. Archbiſhop Thurſtan, happening to fall ſick, could not go in perſon to the army, but ſent the biſhop of Durham in his ſtead; by whoſe encouragements the Engliſh, although in number far inferior, advanced boldly towards the enemy, and offered them battle, which was as readily accepted by the Scots, who ſending out a party of horſe to ſecure the riſing ground, were immediately attacked by the Engliſh, and, after a ſharp diſpute, entirely defeated. In the heat of the battle, the king of Scots, and his ſon Henry earl of Hunting-

ton, gave many proofs of great perſonal valour. The young prince fell with ſuch fierceneſs upon a body of the Engliſh, that he utterly broke and diſperſed them; and was purſuing his victory, when a certain man, bearing aloft the head of an enemy he had cut off, cried out, It was the head of the Scottiſh king; which being heard and believed on both ſides, the Engliſh, who had lately fled, rallied again, aſſaulting their enemies with new vigour; the Scots, on the other ſide, diſcouraged by the ſuppoſed death of their prince, began to turn their backs: the king and his ſon uſed all endeavours to ſtop their flight, and made ſeveral brave

ſtands againſt the enemy; but the greateſt part of their army being fled, and themſelves almoſt encompaſſed, they were forced to give way to fortune, and with much difficulty made their eſcape.

The loſs on the Engliſh ſide was inconſiderable; but of Scots, by general conſent of writers, ten thouſand were ſlain. And thus ended the war of the Standard, as it was uſually called by the authors of that age, becauſe the Engliſh, upon a certain engine, raiſed the maſt of a ſhip, on the top whereof, in a ſilver box, they put the conſecrated wafer, and faſtened the ſtandards of St. Peter and other ſaints: this gave them courage, by remem-

bering they were to fight in the preſence of God; and ſerved likewiſe for a mark where to reaſſemble when they ſhould happen to be diſperſed by any accident or misfortune.

1139. Mean time the king was equally ſucceſsful againſt his rebellious lords at home, having taken moſt of their caſtles and ſtrong holds; and the earl of Gloceſter himſelf, no longer able to make any reſiſtance, withdrew into Normandy, to concert new meaſures with the empreſs his ſiſter. Thus the king had leiſure and opportunity for another expedition into Scotland, to purſue and improve his victory, where he met

with no oppoſition: however, he was at length perſuaded with much difficulty to accept his own conditions of a peace; and David delivered up to him his ſon eldeſt Henry, as hoſtage for performance of articles between them.

The king, in his return homeward, laid ſiege to Ludlow caſtle, which had not been reduced with the reſt: here prince Henry of Scotland, boiling with youth and valour, and expoſing his perſon, upon all occaſions, was lifted from his horſe by an iron grapple let down from the wall, and would have been hoiſted up into the caſtle, if the king had not immediately flown to his aſſiſtance, and brought him off

with his own hands by main force from the enemy, whom he ſoon compelled to ſurrender the caſtle.

1140. Stephen having thus ſubdued his inveterate enemies the Scots, and reduced his rebellious nobles, began to entertain hopes of enjoying a little eaſe. But he was deſtined to the poſſeſſion of a crown with perpetual diſturbance; for he was hardly returned form his northern expedition, when he received intelligence that the empreſs, accompanied by her brother the earl of Gloceſter, was preparing to come for England, in order to diſpute her title to the kingdom. The king, who

knew by experience what a powerful party ſhe already had to eſpouſe her intereſts, very reaſonably concluded, the defection from him would be much greater, when ſhe appeared in perſon to countenance and reward it; he therefor began again to repent of the licence he had granted for building caſtles, which were now like to prove ſo many places of ſecurity for his enemies, and fortifications againſt himſelf; for he knew not whom to truſt, vehemently ſuſpecting his nobles ever ſince their laſt revolt He therefor caſt about for ſome artifice to get into his hands as many of their caſtles as he could: in the ſtrength and magnificence of which

kind of ſtructures, the biſhops had far outdone the reſt, and were upon that, as well as other accounts, very much maligned and envied by the temporal lords, who were extreme jealous of the church's encreaſing power, and glad upon all occaſions to ſee the prelates humbled. The king, therefor, having formed his project, reſolved to make trial where he would be leaſt invidious, and where he could foreſee leaſt danger in the conſequences. At a parliament or aſſembly of nobles at Oxford, it was contrived to raiſe a quarrel between the ſervants of ſome biſhops and thoſe of Alan count of Dinan in Bretagne, upon a

contention of rooms in their inns. Stephen took hold of this advantage, ſent for the biſhops, taxed them with breaking his peace, and demanded the keys of the caſtles, adding threats of impriſonment if they dared to diſobey. Thoſe whom the king chiefly ſuſpected, or rather who had built the moſt and ſtrongeſt caſtles were Roger biſhop of Saliſbury, with his nephew and natural ſon the biſhops of Ely and Lincoln, whom the king, by many circumſtances of rigor, compelled to ſurrender, going himſelf in perſon to ſeize the Devizes *, then eſteemed the no-

* According to Ordericus Vitalis, this caſtle was defended by Maude of Ramſbury, the bi-

bleſt ſtructure of Europe, and built by the fore-mentioned biſhop Roger, whoſe treaſure, to the value of forty thouſand marks †, there likewiſe depoſited, fell, at the ſame time, into the king's hand, which in a few days broke the biſhop's heart, already worn with age and infirmity.

It may, perhaps, not be thought a digreſſion to ſay ſomething of the fortunes of this prelate, who, from the loweſt beginnings, came to be, without diſpute, the greateſt church-

ſhop's concubine. *Epiſcopi pellex principalem munitionem ſervabit.*

† This prelate's treaſure is doubtleſs computed by the ſmaller or Saxon mark; the uſe of which ſtill prevailed in England: and even thus computed, it amounts to a vaſt ſum, equal to about 116,350 *l.* of modern money.

man of any ſubject in his age. It happened that the late king Henry, in the reign of his brother, being at a village in Normandy, wanted a prieſt to ſay maſs before him and his train, when this man, who was a poor curate thereabouts, offered his ſervice, and performed it with ſo much dexterity and ſpeed, that the ſoldiers who attended the prince recommended him to their maſter, upon that account, as a very proper chaplain for military men; but it ſeems he had other talents; for having gotten into the prince's ſervice, he ſoon diſcovered great application and addreſs, much order and œconomy in the management of his maſter's fortunes

which were wholly left to his care. After Henry's advancement to the crown, this chaplain grew chief in his favour and confidence; was made biſhop of Saliſbury, chancellor of England, employed in all his moſt weighty affairs, and uſually left vicegerent of the realm while the king was abſent in Normandy. He was among the firſt that ſwore fealty to Maude and her iſſue; and among the firſt that revolted from her to Stephen, offering ſuch reaſons in council for ſetting her aſide, as, by the credit and opinion of his wiſdom, were very prevalent. But the king, in a few years, forgot all obligations, and the biſhop

fell a ſacrifice in his old age to thoſe treaſures he had been ſo long heaping up for its ſupport. A juſt reward for his ingratitude towards the prince that raiſed him, to be ruined by the ingratitude of another, whom he had been ſo very inſtrumental to raiſe.

But Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, the pope's legate, not able to endure this violation of the church, called a council of all the prelates to meet at Wincheſter, where the king, being ſummoned, appeared by his advocate, who pleaded his cauſe with much learning; and the archbiſhop of Rouen, coming to the council, declared his opinion, That although the canons

did allow the biſhops to poſſeſs caſtles, yet in dangerous times they ought to deliver them up to the king. This opinion Stephen followed very ſteadily, not yielding a tittle, altho' the legate his brother uſed all means, both rough and gentle, to work upon him.

The council of biſhops broke up without other effect than that of leaving in their minds an implacable hatred to the king, in a very opportune juncture for the intereſts of Maude, who, about this time, landed at Portſmouth, with her brother Robert earl of Gloceſter The whole force ſhe brought over for this expedition conſiſted but of one

hundred and forty knights *; for ſhe truſted altogether in her cauſe and her friends. With this ſlender attendance ſhe went to Arundel, and was there received into the caſtle by the widow of the late king; while earl Robert, accompanied only by twenty men, marched boldly to his own city of Gloceſter, in order to raiſe forces for the empreſs, where the townſmen turned out the king's garriſon as ſoon as they heard of his approach.

King Stephen was not ſurprized at the news of the em-

* In theſe times none ſerved on horſeback but gentlemen or knights, in right of their fiefs, or their repreſentatives, called *Men at arms;* and each of theſe was attended by at leaſt two ſervants or retainers, mounted and armed.

preſs's arrival, being a thing he had always counted upon, and was long preparing himſelf againſt. He was glad to hear how ill ſhe was provided, and reſolved to uſe the opportunity of her brother's abſence; for, haſting down to Arundel with a ſufficient ſtrength, he laid ſiege to the caſtle, in hopes, by ſecuring her perſon, to put a ſpeedy end to the war.

But there wanted not ſome very near about the king, who, favouring the party of Maude, had credit enough to prevail with him not to venture time and reputation againſt an impregnable fortreſs, but rather, by withdrawing his forces, permit her to retire to ſome leſs

fortified place, where ſhe might more eaſily fall into his hands. This advice the king took againſt his own opinion: the empreſs fled out of Arundel by night; and, after frequent ſhifting her ſtages through ſeveral towns, which had already declared in her favour, fixed herſelf at laſt at Lincoln; where, having all things provided neceſſary for her defence, ſhe reſolved to continue, and expect either a general revolt of the Engliſh to her ſide, or the deciſion of war between the king and her brother.

1141. But Stephen, who had purſued the empreſs from place to place, hearing ſhe had ſhut herſelf up in Lincoln, reſolved

to give her no reſt; and to help on his deſign, it fell out that the citizens in hatred to the earl of Cheſter, who commanded there for the empreſs, ſent a private invitation to the king, with promiſe to deliver the town and their governor into his hands. The king came accordingly, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the town; but Maude and the earl made their eſcape a few days before. However, many great perſons of Maude's party remained priſoners to the king, and among the reſt the earl of Cheſter's wife, who was daughter to the earl of Gloceſter. Theſe two earls, reſolving to attempt the relief of their friends,

marched with all their forces near Lincoln, where they found the enemy drawn up and ready to receive them. The next morning, after battle offered by the lords, and accepted by the king, both ſides made ready to engage. The king, having diſpoſed his cavalry on each wing, placed himſelf at the head of his foot, in whom he repoſed moſt confidence. The army of the lords was divided in three bodies; thoſe whom king Stephen had baniſhed were placed in the middle, the earl of Cheſter led the van, and the earl of Gloceſter commanded the rear. The battle was fought at firſt with equal advantage, and great obſtinacy on both

ſides: at length the right wing of the king's horſe, preſſed by the earl of Cheſter, galloped away, not without ſuſpicion of treachery; the left followed the example. The king beheld their flight, and encouraging thoſe about him, fell with undaunted valour upon the enemy; and being for ſome time bravely ſeconded by his foot, did great execution. At length, overpowered by numbers, his men began to diſperſe, and Stephen was left almoſt alone with his ſword in his hand, wherewith he oppoſed his perſon againſt a whole victorious army, nor durſt any be ſo hardy to approach him; the ſword breaking, a citizen of

Lincoln put into his hands a Daniſh battle-ax *, with which he ſtruck to the ground the earl of Cheſter †, who perſumed to come within his reach. But this weapon likewiſe flying in pieces with the force of thoſe furious blows he dealt on all ſides, a bold knight of the empreſs's party, named William de Keynes, laid hold on his helmet, and immediately cried out to his fellows, I have got the king. Then the reſt ran in, and he was taken priſoner ‡.

The king, being thus ſecured, was preſented to the empreſs,

* Sim. Dunelmenſis.

† The earl of Cheſter lived nevertheleſs to fight other battles, and died twelve years afterwards by poiſon.

‡ Gervas.

then at Gloceſter, and by her orders conveyed to Briſtol, where he continued in ſtrict cuſtody nine months, altho' with honourable treatment for ſome time, until either upon endeavouring to make his eſcape, or in malice to the Londoners, who had a great affection for their king, he was, by expreſs command from the empreſs, laid in irons, and uſed with other circumſtances of ſeverity.

This victory was followed by a general defection of almoſt the whole kingdom; and the earl of Anjou, huſband to the empreſs, upon the fame of the king's defeat and impriſonment, reduced without any difficulty

the whole duchy of Normandy to his obedience.

The legate himſelf, although brother to king Stephen, received her at Wincheſter with great ſolemnity, accepted her oath for governing with juſtice, redreſſing grievances, and ſupporting the rights of the Church, and took the old conditional one of fealty to her; then in an aſſembly of biſhops and clergy convoked for the purpoſe, he diſplayed the miſcarriages of his brother, and declared his approbation of the empreſs to be queen; to which they unanimouſly agreed. To complete all, he prevailed by his credit with the Londoners, who ſtood out the laſt of any, to acknowlege

and receive her into the city, where ſhe arrived at length in great pomp, and with general ſatisfaction.

But it was the misfortune of this princeſs to poſſeſs many weakneſſes that are charged to the ſex, and very few of its commendable qualities: ſhe was now in peaceable poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom, except the county of Kent, where William D'Ypres pretended to keep up a ſmall party for the king; when by her pride, wilfulneſs, indiſcretion, and a diſobliging behaviour, ſhe ſoon turned the hearts of all men againſt her, and in a ſhort time loſt the fruits of that victory and ſucceſs which had been ſo hardly

gained by the prudence and valour of her excellent brother. The firſt occaſion ſhe took to diſcover the perverſeneſs of her nature, was in the treatment of Maude, the wife of king Stephen, a lady of great virtue, and courage above her ſex, who, coming to the empreſs an humble ſuitor in behalf of her huſband, offered, as a price of his liberty, that he ſhould reſign all pretenſions to the crown, and paſs the reſt of his life in exile, or in a convent: but this requeſt was rejected with ſcorn and reproaches; and the queen, finding all intreaties to no purpoſe, writ to her ſon Euſtace to let him underſtand the ill ſucceſs of her negociation, that no

relief was to be otherwiſe hoped for than by arms; and therefore adviſed him to raiſe immediately what forces he could for the relief of his father.

Her next miſcarriage was towards the Londoners, who preſented her a petition for redreſſing certain rigorous laws of her father, and reſtoring thoſe of Edward the Confeſſor. The empreſs put them off for a time with excuſes, but at laſt diſcovered ſome diſpleaſure at their importunity. The citizens, who had with much difficulty been perſuaded to receive her againſt their inclinations, which ſtood wholly for the king, were moved with indignation at her unreaſonable refuſal of their juſt

demands, and entered into a conſpiracy to ſeize her perſon. But ſhe had timely notice of their deſign, and leaving the city by night in diſguiſe, fled to Oxford.

A third falſe ſtep the empreſs made *, was in refuſing her new powerful friend the legate a favour he deſired in behalf of Euſtace, the king's ſon, to grant him the lands and honours held by his father before he came to the crown. She had made large promiſes to this prelate, that ſhe would be directed in all things by his advice, and to be refuſed upon his firſt application a ſmall favour for his

* William of Malmeſbury.

own nephew, ſtung him to the quick; however, he governed his reſentments a while, but began at the ſame time to reſume his affection for his brother. Theſe thoughts were cultivated with great addreſs by queen Maude, who prevailed at laſt ſo far upon the legate, that private meaſures were agreed between them for reſtoring Stephen to his liberty and crown. The biſhop took leave of the empreſs, upon ſome plauſible pretence, and retired to Wincheſter, where he gave directions for ſupplying with men and poviſions ſeveral ſtrong caſtles he had built in his dioceſe, while the queen with her ſon Euſtace prevailed

with the Londoners and men of Kent to riſe in great numbers for the king; and a powerful army was quickly on foot, under the command of William D'Ypres earl of Kent.

In the mean time the empreſs began to be ſenſible of the errors ſhe had committed: and in hope either to retrieve the friendſhip of the legate, or take him priſoner, marched with her army to Wincheſter, where being received and lodged in the caſtle, ſhe ſent immediately for the legate, ſpoke much in excuſe of what was paſt, and uſed all endeavours to regain him to her intereſts. Biſhop Henry, on the other ſide, amuſed her with dubious anſwers, and kept her

in ſuſpence for ſome days; but ſent privately at the ſame time to the king's army, deſiring them to advance with all poſſible ſpeed; which was executed with ſo much diligence, that the empreſs and her brother had only time with their troops to march a back way out of the town. They were purſued by the enemy ſo cloſe in the rear, that the empreſs had hardly time, by counterfeiting herſelf dead, to make her eſcape; in which poſture ſhe was carreid as a corpſe to Gloceſter; but the earl her brother, while he made what oppoſition he could, with deſign to ſtop her purſuers, was himſelf taken priſoner, with great

ſlaughter of his men. After the battle, the earl was in his turn preſented to queen Maude, and by her command ſent to Rocheſter to be treated in the ſame manner with the king.

Thus the heads of both parties were each in the power of his enemy, and Fortune ſeemed to have dealt with great equality between them. Two factions divided the whole kingdom, and, as it uſually happens, private animoſities were inflamed by the quarrel of the public; which introduced a miſerable face of things throughout the land, whereof the writers of our Engliſh ſtory give melancholy deſcriptions, not to be repeated in this hiſtory; ſince the uſual

effects of civil war are obvious to conceive, and tireſome as well as uſeleſs to relate. However, as the quarrel between the king and empreſs was grounded upon a cauſe that in its own nature little concerned the intereſts of the people, this was thought a convenient juncture for tranſacting a peace, to which there appeared an univerſal diſpoſition. Several expedients were propoſed; but earl Robert would conſent upon no other terms than the depoſing of Stephen, and immediate delivery of the crown to his ſiſter. Theſe debates laſted for ſome months, until the two priſoners, weary of their long conſtraint, by

mutual conſent were exchanged for each other, and all thoughts of agreement laid aſide.

The king, upon the recovery of his freedom, haſtened to London, to get ſupplies of men and money for renewing the war. He there found that his brother of Wincheſter had, in a council of biſhops and abbots, renounced all obedience to the empreſs, and perſuaded the aſſembly to follow his example. The legate, in excuſe for this proceeding, loaded her with infamy, produced ſeveral inſtances wherein ſhe had broken the oath ſhe took when he received her as queen, and upon which his obedience was grounded; ſaid, he

had received information that ſhe had a deſign upon his life *.

It muſt be confeſſed that oaths of fealty in this prince's reign were feeble ties for binding the ſubject to any reaſonable degree of obedience; and the warmeſt advocates for liberty cannot but allow, from thoſe examples here produced, that it is very poſſible for people to run upon great extremes in this matter, that a monarch may be too much limited, and a ſubject too little; whereof the conſequences have been fully as pernicious for the time as the worſt that can be apprehended from arbitrary power in all its heights, although not perhaps

* William of Malmeſbury.

ſo laſting or ſo hard to be remedied; ſince all the miſeries of this kingdom, during the period we are treating of, were manifeſtly owing to that continual violation of ſuch oaths of allegiance, as appear to have been contrived on purpoſe by ambitious men to be broken at pleaſure, without the leaſt apprehenſion of perjury, and in the mean time keep the prince in a continual ſlaviſh dependence.

The earl of Gloceſter, ſoon after his releaſe, went over into Normandy, where he found the earl of Anjou employed in completing the conqueſt of that duchy: there he delivered him the ſons of ſeveral Engliſh noble-

men, to be kept as hoſtages for their fathers fidelity to the empreſs, and uſed many arguments for perſuading him to come over in perſon with an army to her aſſiſtance; but Geoffry excuſed himſelf by the importance of other affairs, and the danger of expoſing the dominions he had newly acquired to rebellions in his abſence. However, he lent the earl of Gloceſter a ſupply of four hundred men, and ſent along with him his eldeſt ſon Henry, to comfort his mother, and be ſhewn to the people.

During the ſhort abſence of the earl of Gloceſter, the empreſs was cloſely beſieged in Oxford by the king; and pro-

viſions beginning to fail, ſhe was in cruel apprehenſions of falling into his hands. This gave her occaſion to put in practice the only talent wherein ſhe ſeemed to excel, which was that of contriving ſome little ſhift or expedient to ſecure her perſon upon any ſudden emergency. A long ſeaſon of froſt had made the Thames paſſable upon the ice, and much ſnow lay on the ground; Maude, with ſome few attendants clad all in white, to avoid being diſcovered from the king's camp, croſſed the river at midnight on foot, and travelling all night, got ſafe to Wallingford caſtle, where her brother and young ſon Henry, newly returned from France,

arrived ſoon after, to her great ſatisfaction: but Oxford, immediately upon the news of her flight, ſurrendered to the king.

However, this diſgrace was fully compenſated ſoon after by another of the ſame kind, which happened to king Stephen; for whilſt he and his brother of Wincheſter were fortifying a nunnery at Wilton, to bridle his enemies at Saliſbury, who very much harraſſed thoſe parts by their frequent excurſions, the earl of Gloceſter, who watched all opportunities, came unaware with a ſtrong body of men, and ſet fire on the nunnery while the king himſelf was in it. Stephen, upon the ſudden ſurprize

of the thing, wholly loſt or forgot his uſual courage, and fled ſhamefully away, leaving his ſoldiers to be cut in pieces by the earl.

During the reſt of the war, although it laſted nine years longer, there is little memorable recorded by any writer; whether the parties being pretty equal, and both ſufficiently tired with ſo long a contention, wanted vigour and ſpirit to make a thorough conqueſt, and only endeavoured to keep what they had; or whether the multitude of caſtles, whoſe number daily increaſed, made it very difficult to end a war between two contending powers almoſt in balance; let the cauſe be

what it will, the whole time paſſed in mutual ſieges, ſurprizes, revolts, ſurrenders of fortified places, without any deciſive action, or other event of importance to be related. By which at length the very genius of the people became wholly bent upon a life of ſpoil, robbery, and plunder; many of the nobles, although pretending to hold their caſtles for the king or the empreſs, lived like petty independent princes in a perpetual ſtate of war againſt their neighbours; the fields lay uncultivated, all the arts of civil life were baniſhed, no veneration left for ſacred perſons or things; in ſhort, no law, truth, or reli-

gion among men, but a ſcene of univerſal miſery, attended with all the conſequences of an embroiled and diſtracted ſtate.

About the eleventh year of the king's reign, young Henry, now growing towards a man, was ſent to France by a meſſage from his father, who was deſirous to ſee him; but left a conſiderable party in England, to adhere to his intereſts; and in a ſhort time after (as ſome write *) the empreſs herſelf, grown weary of contending any longer in a cauſe where ſhe had met with nothing but misfortunes of her own procuring, left the kingdom likewiſe, and retired to her

* Gervas.

huſband. Nor was this the only good fotune that befel Stephen; for before the year ended, the main prop and pillar of his enemies was taken away by death; this was Robert earl of Gloceſter, than whom there have been few private perſons known in the world that deſerve a fairer place and character in the regiſters of time, for his inviolable faith, diſintereſted friendſhip, indefatigable zeal, and firm conſtancy to the cauſe he eſpouſed, and unparalleled generoſity in the conduct thereof: he adhered to his ſiſter in all her fortunes, to the ruin of his own; he placed a crown on her head; and when ſhe had

loſt it by her folly and perverſeneſs, refuſed the greateſt offers from a victorious enemy, who had him in his power, and choſe to continue a priſoner rather than recover his liberty by any hazard to her pretenſions: he bore up her ſinking title in ſpight of her own frequent miſcarriages, and at laſt died in her cauſe by a fever contracted with perpetual toils for her ſervice. An example fit to be ſhewn the world, although few perhaps are like to follow it; but however, a ſmall tribute of praiſe, juſtly due to extraordinary virtue, may prove no ill expedient to encourage imitation.

But the death of this lord, to-

gether with the abſence of the empreſs and her ſon in France, added very little to the quiet or ſecurity of the king. For the earl of Gloceſter, ſuſpecting the fidelity of the lords, had, with great ſagacity, delivered their ſons to the earl of Anjou, to be kept as pledges for their father's fidelity, as we have before related: by which means a powerful party was ſtill kept up againſt Stephen, too ſtrong to be ſuddenly broken. Beſides, he had, by an unuſual ſtrain of his conduct, lately loſt much good will as well as reputation, in committing an act of violence and fraud on the perſon of the earl of Cheſter, a principal

adherent of the empreſs. This nobleman, of great power and poſſeſſions, had newly reconciled himſelf to Stephen, and came to his court at Northampton, where, againſt all laws of hoſpitality, as well as common faith and juſtice, he was committed to priſon, and forced to buy his liberty with the ſurrender of Lincoln, and all his other places, into the king's hands.

Affairs continued in this turbulent poſture about two years, the nobles neither truſting the king nor each other. The number of caſtles ſtill increaſed, which every man who had any poſſeſſions was forced to build,

or elſe become a prey to his powerful neighbours. This was thought a convenient juncture, by the empreſs and her friends, for ſending young prince Henry to try his fortune in England, where he landed at the head of a conſiderable number of horſe and foot, although he was then but ſixteen years old. Immediately after his arrival he went to Carliſle, where he met his couſin David king of Scots, by whom he was made knight, after the uſual cuſtom of young princes and noblemen in that age. The king of England, who had ſoon intelligence of Henry's landing and motion, marched down to ſecure York, againſt which he

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expected the firſt attempt of his enemy was deſigned. But, whatever the cauſe might be (wherein the writers of thoſe ages are either ſilent or unſatisfactory) both armies remained at that ſecure diſtance for three months; after which Henry re-
1150 turned back to Normandy, leaving the kingdom in the ſtate of confuſion he found it at his coming.

The fortunes of this young prince Henry Fitz-empreſs now began to advance by great and ſudden ſteps, whereof it will be no digreſſion to inform the reader, as well upon the connexion they have with the affairs at home about this time, as becauſe they concern the

immediate ſucceſſor to the crown.

1151. Prince Henry's voyage to France was ſoon followed by the death of his father Geoffry earl of Anjou, whereby the ſon became poſſeſſed of that earldom, together 1152 with the duchy of Normandy; but in a ſhort time after he very much enlarged his dominions by a marriage, in which he conſulted his reputation leſs than his advantage. For Louis the Young, king of France, was lately divorced from his wife Eleanor, who, as the French writers relate, bore a great contempt and hatred to her huſband, and had long deſired ſuch a ſeparation. Other

authors give her not ſo fair a character: but whatever might be the real cauſe, the pretext was conſanguinity in the fourth degree *. Henry was content

* Whether the pretext were affinity or conſanguinity, is not quite agreed among hiſtorians: but it ſeems clear, that the real cauſe of the ſeparation was the jealouſy of the king, and his impatience under the ſcandal of her amours. The proceedings of a council ſummoned at Beaugenci, in the year 1151, for the purpoſe of this divorce, are related by M. Bayle, who is never more prolix than when he meets with ladies like Eleanor, renowned for beauty, learning, and gallantry. He gives us the harangue of the biſhop of Langres in that aſſembly; who took the liberty of inveighing bitterly againſt the lewdneſs of the queen The archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, a more decent man, was for huſhing that charge, and propoſed another more honourable motive for ſeparation, by ſhewing that the king and queen were related in a degree wherein marriage is unlawful. The hint was taken; the proceedings changed; and on this ground a marriage, which for fourteen years had been unqueſtioned, was now pronounced void. The queen, being told what turn things had taken, ſwooned, fell from her chair, conti-

to accept this lady with all her faults, and in her right † became duke of Aquitain, and earl of Poitou, very conſiderable provinces, added to his other dominions.

But the two kings of France and England began to apprehend much danger from the ſudden greatneſs of a young ambitious prince; and their intereſts were jointly concerned to check his growth. Duke

nued above two hours ſpeechleſs: at length, coming to herſelf, and turning her bright and blue eyes on the company preſent, ſhe ſaid, *&c.* Vid Bayle's Dict. article Louis VII.

† This Eleanor was daughter and heireſs of William the laſt duke of Aquitain and earl Poitou. She made afterwards a great figure in England; raiſed rebellion againſt the king her huſband; ſuffered long impriſonment; but ſurvived her troubles, her huſband, and her eldeſt ſon (Richard I.) dying in the year 1203.

Henry was now ready to ſail for England, in a condition to aſſert his title upon more equal terms; when the king of France, in conjunction with Euſtace, king Stephen's ſon, and Geoffry, the duke's own brother, ſuddenly entered into his dominions with a mighty army; took the caſtle of Neumarche by ſtorm, and laid ſiege to that of Angers. The duke, by this incident, was forced to lay aſide his thoughts of England, and marching boldly towards the enemy, reſolved to relieve the beſieged; but finding they had already taken the caſtle, he thought it beſt to make a diverſion, by carrying the war into the enemy's country, where he

left all to the mercy of his ſoldiers, ſurprized and burnt ſeveral caſtles, and made great devaſtations wherever he came. This proceeding anſwered the end for which it was deſigned; the king of France thought he had already done enough for his honour, and began to grow weary of a ruinous war, which was likely to be protracted. The conditions of a peace, by the intervention of ſome religious men, were ſoon agreed. The duke, after ſome time ſpent in ſettling his affairs, and preparing all things neceſſary for his intended expedition, ſet ſail for England, where he landed * the

* The place where he landed is not mentioned by our hiſtorians. It was probably in the

ſame year in the depth of winter, with a hundred and forty knights, and three thouſand foot.

Sometime before Henry landed, the king had conceived a project to diſappoint his deſigns, by confirming the crown upon himſelf and his own poſterity †. He ſent for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with ſeveral other prelates, and propoſed that his ſon Euſtace ſhould be crowned king with all the uſual ſolemnity: but the biſhops abſolutely refuſed to perform the office, by expreſs orders from the pope, who was an enemy to Stephen,

weſt of England, as the firſt garriſon town he attacked was Malmsbury.

† Garvas, Hen. Huntingdon.

partly upon account of his unjuſt or declining cauſe, but chiefly for his ſtrict alliance with the king of France, who was then engaged in a quarrel againſt that ſee, upon a very tender point relating to the revenues of vacant churches. The king and his ſon were both enraged at the biſhops' refuſal, and kept them priſoners in the chamber where they aſſembled, with many threats to force them to a compliance, and ſome other circumſtances of rigour; but all to no purpoſe, ſo that he was at length forced to deſiſt. But the archbiſhop, to avoid further vexation, fled the realm.

This contrivance of crown-

ing the ſon during the life and reign of the father, which appears ſo abſurd in ſpeculation, was actually performed in the ſucceeding reign, and ſeems to have been taken up by thoſe two princes of French birth and extraction, in imitation of the like practice in their native country *, where it was uſual for kings, grown old and infirm, or ſwayed by paternal indulgence, to receive their eldeſt ſon into a ſhare of the adminiſtration, with the title of king; a cuſtom borrowed, no doubt, from the later emperors of Rome, who adopted their Cæſars after the like manner.

* Mezeray.

1153. The king was employed in his uſual exerciſe of beſieging caſtles when the news was brought of Henry's arrival. He left the work he was about, and marched directly againſt the duke, who was then ſat down before Malmeſbury. But Stephen forced him to raiſe the ſiege, and immediately offered him battle. The duke, although his army was much encreaſed by continual revolts, thought it beſt to gain time, being ſtill in number far inferior to the king, and therefore kept himſelf ſtrongly entrenched. There is ſome difference among writers about the particulars of this war: however, it

is generally agreed, that in a ſhort time after, the two armies met, and were prepared for battle, when the nobles on both ſides, either dreading the conſequences, or weary of a tideous war, prevailed with the king and duke to agree to a truce for ſome days in order to a peace; which was violently oppoſed by Euſtace, the king's ſon, a youth of great ſpirit and courage, becauſe he knew very well it could not be built but upon the ruin of his intereſts; and therefore finding he could not prevail, he left the army in a rage, and, attended by ſome followers, endeavoured to ſatiate his fury, by deſtroying the

country in his march: But in a few days, as he ſat at dinner in a caſtle of his own, he fell ſuddenly dead, either through grief, madneſs, or poiſon.

The truce was now expired, and the duke began to renew the war with freſh vigour; but the king was wholly diſpirited upon this fatal accident, and now firſt began to entertain real thoughts of a peace. He had loſt a ſon whom he dearly loved, and with him he likewiſe loſt the alliance of the French king, to whoſe ſiſter the young prince was married. He had indeed another ſon left, but little eſteemed by the nobles and people; nor, as it appears, much

regarded by his father. He was now in the decline of his age, decayed in his health, forſaken by his friends, who, ſince the death of Euſtace, fell daily from him; and having no further care at heart for his poſterity, he thought it high time to ſeek repoſe for his perſon. The nobles ſoon obſerved this diſpoſition in their king, which was ſo agreeable to their own; therefore, by general conſent, Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury was appointed mediator between both princes. All matters were ſoon agreed; an aſſembly of lords was convened at Winchester, where the king received the duke, with great marks of courteſy and kindneſs. There

the peace was confirmed by the king's charter, wherein are expreſſed the terms of agreement. But I ſhall relate only the principal.

The king, by this charter, acknowleged Henry for lawful ſucceſſor to the crown; in which capacity all the nobles paid him homage: and Henry himſelf, with his party, paid homage to Stephen. There is likewiſe a reſervation for William, the king's ſon, of all the honours poſſeſſed by his father before he came to the crown. The king likewiſe acknowleges the obedience of his ſubjects to be no longer due to him than he ſhall obſerve the conditions of this charter. And for the per-

formance of theſe articles, the archbiſhops and biſhops were appointed guarantees. There were ſome other articles agreed on, which are not mentioned in the charter; as, a general pardon; a reſtitution, to the right owners, of thoſe lands and poſſeſſions, which had been uſurped in the time of the troubles; that all caſtles built during the war ſhould be raſed to the ground, which are ſaid to have been above eleven hundred; that the rights of the church ſhould be preſerved; with other matters of leſs moment.

Thus, by the prudence of archbiſhop Theobald, the moderation of the two princes engaged, and the univerſal incli-

nation of the people, a happy period was put to this tedious and troubleſome war: men began to have the proſpect of a long peace; nor was it eaſy to foreſee what could poſſibly ariſe to diſturb it; when diſcovery was made, by accident, of a moſt horrible piece of treachery, which, if it had met with ſucceſs, would have once more ſet the whole nation in a flame. The duke, after the peace, attended the king to London, to to be ſhewn to the people as the undoubted ſucceſſor to the crown; and having made a progreſs together through ſome other parts of the kingdom, they came to Canterbury; where Henry received private notice of

a deſign upon his life. It hath been already obſerved, that the king employed in his wars a body of Flemings, to the great diſcontent of his own ſubjects, with whom they were very ungracious. Theſe foreigners were much diſcontented at the peace, whereby they were likely to become uſeleſs and burdenſome to the preſent king, and hateful to the ſucceſſor. To prevent which, the commanders among them began to practiſe upon the levity and ambition of William the king's ſon. They urged the indignity he had received in being deprived of his birth-right; offered to ſupport his title by their valour, as they had done that of his father; and,

as an earneſt of their intentions, to remove the chief impediment by diſpatching his rival out of the world. The young prince was eaſily wrought upon to be at the head of this conſpiracy; time and place were fixt; when, upon the day appointed, William broke his leg by a fall from his horſe; and the conſpirators wanting their leader immediately diſperſed. This diſappointment and delay, as it uſually happens among conſpirators, were ſoon followed by a diſcovery of the whole plot, whereof the duke, with great diſcretion, made no other uſe than to conſult his own ſafety; therefore, without any ſhew of

ſuſpicion or diſpleaſure, he took leave of the king, and returned to Normandy.

1154. Stephen lived not above a year to ſhare the happineſs of this peace with his people; in which time he made a progreſs through moſt parts of the kingdom, where he gained univerſal love and veneration, by a moſt affable and courteous behaviour to all men. A few months after his return, he went to Dover, to have an interview with the earl of Flanders *; where, after a ſhort ſickneſs, he died of the Iliac paſſion, together with his old diſtemper

* The earl of Flanders was a potent ſovereign on the Continent, and had landed at Dover, in order to meet and confer with the king.

the hæmorrhoids, upon the twenty-fifth day of October, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.

He was a prince of wonderful endowments, both in body and mind: in his perſon tall and graceful, of great ſtrength as well as vigour: he had a large portion of moſt virtues that can be uſeful in a king towards the happineſs of his ſubjects or himſelf; curteſy and valour, liberality and clemency, in an eminent degree; eſpecially the laſt, which he carried to an extreme, though very pardonable, yet hardly conſiſting with prudence, or his own ſafety. If we except his uſurpation of the

crown, he muſt be allowed a prince of great juſtice, which moſt writers affirm to have been always unblemiſhed, except in that ſingle inſtance: for, as to his treatment of the biſhops and the earl of Cheſter, it ſeems very excuſeable by the neceſſity of the time; and it was the general opinion, if he had not uſed that proceeding with the latter, it would have coſt him his crown. Perhaps his injuſtice to the empreſs might likewiſe admit a little extenuation. Four kings ſucceſſively had ſat on the thorne without any regard to lineal deſcent; a period beyond the memory of moſt men then alive; whereby the people had loſt much of

that devotion they were uſed to bear towards an eſtabliſhed ſucceſſion: beſides, the government of a woman was then a thing unknown, and for that reaſon diſliked by all who profeſſed to hate innovations.

But the wiſdom of this prince was by no means equal to the reſt of his virtues. He came to the crown upon as fair a title as his predeceſſor, being elected by the general conſent of the nobles, through the credit of his brother, and his own perſonal merit. He had no diſturbance for ſome time, which he might eaſily have employed in ſettling the kingdom, and acquiring the love of his people.

He had treaſure enough to raiſe and pay armies, without burdening the ſubject. His competitor was a woman, whoſe ſex was the leaſt of her infirmities, and with whom he had already compounded for his quiet by a conſiderable penſion: yet with all theſe advantages he ſeldom was maſter of half the kingdom at once, and that by the force of perpetual ſtruggling, and with frequent danger of loſing the whole. The principal difficulties he had to encounter, appear to have been manifeſt conſequences of ſeveral moſt imprudent ſteps in his conduct, whereof many inſtances have been produced in the hiſtory of his reign; ſuch as,

the unlimited permiſſion of building caſtles; his raiſing the ſiege of a weak place where the empreſs was ſhut up, and muſt, in a few days, have fallen into his hands; his employing the Flemings in his wars, and favouring them above his own ſubjects; and laſtly, that abortive project of crowning his ſon, which procured him at once the hatred and contempt of the clergy, by diſcovering an inclination to violence and injuſtice that he durſt not purſue: whereas, it was nothing elſe but an effect of that haſty and ſudden diſpoſition uſually aſcribed to thoſe of his country, and in a particular manner charged to this prince: for au-

thors give it as a part of his character, to be hot and violent in the beginning of an enterprize, but to ſlacken and grow cold in the proſecution.

He had a juſt ſenſe of religion, and was frequent in attending the ſervice of the church, yet reported to be no great friend of the clergy; which, however, is a general imputation upon all the kings of this realm in that and ſome ſucceeding reigns, and by no means perſonal to this prince, who deſerved it as little as any.

I do not find any alterations during this reign in the meetings of general aſſemblies, further than that the commons do not ſeem to have been repreſent-

ed in any of them; for which I can aſſign no other reaſon than the will of the king, or the diſturbance of the time *. I obſerve the word Parliament is uſed promiſcuouſly among authors, for a general aſſembly of nobles, and for a council of biſhops, or ſynod of the clergy; which renders this matter too perplexed to aſcertain any thing about it.

As for affairs of the church, that deſerve particular mention, I have not met with any; unleſs it ſhould be worth relating, that Henry biſhop of Winche-

* The riſe and hiſtory of Parliaments had not been cleared up when the Doctor writ in the beginning of this current century. It is certain, that the Commons had as yet never been repreſented.

ſter, the pope's legate, who held frequent ſynods during this reign, was the firſt introducer of appeals to Rome, in this kingdom, for which he is blamed by all the monkiſh hiſtorians who give us the account.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HENRY the SECOND.

A FRAGMENT.

THE ſpirit of war and contention, which had
for a long time poſſeſſed 1154
the nation, became ſo effectually laid during the laſt year of king Stephen's reign, that no alteration or diſturbance enſued upon his death, altho'

the new king *, after he had received intelligence of it, was detained ſix weeks † by contrary winds: beſides, the opinion of this prince's power and virtues had already begotten ſo great an awe and reverence for him among the people, that upon his arrival he found the whole kingdom in a profound peace. He landed at Hoſtreham ‡, about the beginning of December, was received at Wincheſter by a great number of

* Henry was at that time beſieging a caſtle on the frontiers of Normandy.

† Five weeks at the moſt; a month, ſaith Brompton.

‡ At Hoſtreham, ſaith Gervaſe. This place is not eaſy to be found; however, it muſt be on the Suſſex or Hampſhire coaſt, becauſe the king went directly from the place of his landing to Wincheſter. Carte ſays he landed Dec. 8. near Hurſt caſtle in the New Foreſt.

the nobility, who came there to attend and ſwear fealty to him, and three weeks after was crowned at Weſtminſter, about the twenty-third year of his age.

For the further ſettling of the kingdom, after the long diſtractions in the preceding reign, he ſeized on all the caſtles which remained undeſtroyed ſince the laſt peace between him and king Stephen; whereof ſome he demoliſhed, and truſted others to the government of perſons in whom he could confide.

But that which moſt contributed to the quiet of the realm, and the general ſatisfaction of his ſubjects, was a proclamati-

on publiſhed, commanding all foreigners to leave England, inforced with a moſt effectual clauſe, whereby a day was fixt, after which it ſhould be capital for any of them to appear: among theſe was William D'Ypres earl of Kent, whoſe poſſeſſions the king ſeized into his own hands.

Theſe foreigners, generally called Flemings by the writers of the Engliſh ſtory, were a ſort of vagabond ſoldiers of fortune, who in thoſe ages, under ſeveral denominations, infeſted other parts of Europe as well as England: they were a mixt people, natives of Arragon, Navarre, Biſcay, Brabant, and other parts of Spain and Flanders.

They were ready to be hired to whatever prince thought fit to employ them, but always upon condition to have full liberty of plunder and ſpoil. Nor was it an eaſy matter to get rid of them, when there was no further need of their ſervice. In England they were always hated by the people, and by this prince in particular, whoſe continual enemies they had been.

After the expulſion of theſe foreigners, and the forcing a few refractory lords to a ſurrender of their caſtles, king Henry, like a wiſe prince, began to conſider that a time of ſettled peace was the fitteſt juncture to re-

cover the rights of the crown, which had been loſt by the war. He therefore reſumed, by his royal authority, all crown lands that had been alienated by his predeceſſor; alledging that they were unalienable in themſelves, and beſides, that the grants were void, as coming from an uſurper. Whether ſuch proceedings are agreeable with juſtice, I ſhall not examine; but certainly a prince cannot better conſult his own ſafety than by diſabling thoſe whom he renders diſcontent, which is effectually done no other way but by depriving them of their poſſeſſions.

1156. While the king was thus employed at home, intel-

ligence came that his brother Geoffry was endeavouring by force to poſſeſs himſelf of the earldom of Anjou, to which he had fair pretenſions; for their father, conſidering what vaſt dominions would fall to his eldeſt ſon, bequeathed that earldom to the ſecond in his laſt ſickneſs, and commanded his nobles then about him, to take an oath that they would not ſuffer his body to be buried until Henry (who was then abſent) ſhould ſwear to obſerve his will. The duke of Normandy, when he came to aſſiſt at his father's obſequies, and found that without his compliance he muſt draw upon himſelf the

ſcandal of keeping a father unburied, took the oath that was exacted for obſervance of his will, though very much againſt his own. But after he was in poſſeſſion of England, whether it were that his ambition enlarged with his dominions, or that from the beginning he had never intended to obſerve what he had ſworn, he prevailed with pope Adrian (of Engliſh birth) to diſpenſe with his oath, and in the ſecond year of his reign went over into Normandy, drove his brother entirely out of Anjou, and forced him to accept a penſion for his maintenance. But the young prince, through the reſentment of this unnatur-

al dealing, in a ſhort time died of grief.

Nor was his treatment more favourable to the king of Scots, whom, upon a ſlight pretence, he took occaſion to diſpoſſeſs of Carliſle, Newcaſtle, and other places granted by the empreſs to that prince's father, for his ſervices and aſſiſtance in her quarrel againſt Stephen.

Having thus recovered whatever he had any title to demand, he began to look out for new acquiſitions. Ireland was in that age a country little known in the world. The legates ſent ſometimes thither from the court of Rome, for urging the payment of annats, or directing other Church affairs, repreſent-

ed the inhabitants as a ſavage people, overrun with barbariſm and ſuperſtition: for indeed no nation of Europe, where the Chriſtian religion received ſo early and univerſal admittance, was ever ſo late or ſlow in feeling its effects upon their manners and civility *. Inſtead of refining their manners by their faith, they had ſuffered their faith to be corrupted by their manners; true religion being almoſt defaced, both in doctrine and diſcipline, after a long time, among a people wholly ſunk in ignorance and barbarity. There ſeem to have been two

* The Iriſh had been very learned in former ages, but had declined for ſeveral centuries before the reign of Henry II. Vid. Bede.

reaſons why the inhabitants of that iſland continued ſo long uncultivated; firſt, their ſubjection or vaſſalage to ſo many petty kings, whereof a great number is mentioned by authors, beſides thoſe four or five uſually aſſigned to the ſeveral provinces. Theſe princes were engaged in perpetual quarrels, in doing or revenging injuries of violence, or luſt, or treachery, or injuſtice, which kept them all in a continual ſtate of war. And indeed there is hardly any country, how renowned ſoever in ancient or modern ſtory, which may not be traced from the like original. Neither can a nation come out from this ſtate of confuſion, until it is either

reduced under one head at home, or by force or conqueſt becomes ſubject to a foreign adminiſtration.

The other reaſon, why civility made ſuch late entrances into that iſland, may be imputed to its natural ſituation, lying more out of the road of commerce or conqueſt than any other part of the known world. All the intercourſe the inhabitants had, was only with the weſtern coaſts of Wales and Scotland, from whence, at leaſt in thoſe ages, they were not like to learn very much politeneſs.

1155. The king, about the ſecond year of his reign, ſent ambaſſadors to pope Adrian, with injunctions to deſire his

licence for reducing the ſavage people of Ireland from their brutiſh way of living, and ſubjecting them to the crown of England. The king proceeded thus, in order to ſet up a title to the iſland, wherein the pope himſelf pretended to be lord of the fee; for in his letter, which is an anſwer and grant to the king's requeſts, he inſiſts upon it, that all iſlands, upon their admitting the Chriſtian faith, become ſubject to the ſee of Rome; and the Iriſh themſelves avowed the ſame thing to ſome of the firſt conquerors. In that fore-mentioned letter, the pope highly praiſes the king's generous deſign *, and recommends

* Rad de Diceto.

to him, the civilizing the natives, the protection of the Church, and the payment of Peter-pence. The ill ſucceſs of all paſt endeavours to procure from a people, ſo miſerable and irreligious, this revenue to the holy ſee, was a main inducement with the pope to be eaſy and liberal in his grant; for the king profeſſed a deſign of ſecuring its regular payment. However, this expedition was not undertaken until ſome years after, when there happened an incident to ſet it forward, as we ſhall relate in its place.

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THE CHARACTER OF HENRY the SECOND.

Extracted from the MONKS.

Hard to gather his Character *from ſuch bad* AUTHORS.

A WISE prince, to whom other princes referred their differences; and had ambaſſadors from both empires, Eaſt and Weſt, as well as others, at once in his court.

Strong and brawny body, patient of cold and heat, big head, broad breaſt, broken voice, temperate in meat, uſing much exerciſe, juſt ſtature, *forma elegantiſſima, colore ſubrufo, oculis glaucis,*

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ſharp wit, very great memory, conſtancy in adverſity [and] in felicity, except at laſt he yielded, becauſe almoſt forſaken of all; liberal, impoſed few tributes, excellent ſoldier and fortunate, wiſe and not unlearned. His vices: mild and promiſing in adverſity, fierce and hard, and a violator of faith in proſperity; covetous to his domeſtics and children, although liberal to ſoldiers and ſtrangers, which turned the former from him; loved profit more than juſtice; very luſtful, which likewiſe turned his ſons and others from him. Roſamond and the labyrinth at Woodſtock. Not very religious *; *mortuos milites lugens plus quam vivos amans*; *largus in pub·*

* Brompton.

lico, parcus in privato. Conſtant in love and hatred, falſe to his word, moroſe, a lover of eaſe. Oppreſſor of nobles, ſullen, and a delayer of juſtice; *verbo varius & verſutus*———Uſed churchmen well after Becket's death; charitable to the poor, levied few taxes, hated ſlaughter and cruelty †. A great memory, and always knew thoſe he once ſaw.

Very indefatigable in his travels backwards and forwards to Normandy, *etc.* of moſt endleſs deſires to increaſe his dominions. * * * * * * *

Cætera deſiderantur.

† Girald.

THE END.

BRITISH MUSEUM
JUN
67

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FINIS.

MISTAKES to be rectified.

Dedication, page 2. Note. *for* exceutded, *read* executed.
Page 11. Note. *for* embrakation, *read* embarkation.
15. *for* Nomandy, *read* Normandy.
81. *for* whow as, *read* who was.
85. *for* expectation, *read* expectation.
172. *for* ſon eldeſt, *read* eldeſt ſon.
197. *for* carreid, *read* carried.
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